

SUPERNATURAL ELEMENTS IN NŌ DRAMA

SETSUKO ITO



ProQuest Number: 10731611

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10731611

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Supernatural Elements in Nō Drama

Abstract

One of the most neglected areas of research in the field of Nō drama is its use of supernatural elements, in particular the calling up of the spirit or ghost of a dead person which is found in a large number (more than half) of the Nō plays at present performed.

In these 'spirit plays', the summoning of the spirit is typically done by a travelling priest (the waki). He meets a local person (the mae-shite) who tells him the story for which the place is famous and then reappears in the second half of the play as the main person in the story (the nochi-shite), now long since dead.

This thesis sets out to show something of the circumstances from which this unique form of drama was developed. It gives a brief comment of the literary, social and religious background against which Nō drama of we consider it today arose around the middle of the 14th century; and more specifically, it describes the traditional concept of rapport between this world and the other by focussing attention on miko in their function as mediums and by comparing the three-element framework of the spirit play in Nō with a similar arrangement in a traditional method of summoning spirits; and on the drama side, it considers various types of early entertainments and drama (such as Kagura,

Shushi Sarugaku, Ennen and Dengaku) which could have founded inspiration on models for the spirit play form in Sarugaku Nō. Indications of the date and originators of the use of the spirit-play form in Nō are sought by considering the authorship of early Nō plays, especially those attributed to Kanami (I333-I384) and Zeami (I363-I443).

Finally, it shows how supernatural beings other than ghosts could be dealt with in Nō by analyzing the treatment of one such character, the angel in the play Hagoromo.

CONTENTS

Chapter I	Introduction	6
Chapter II	Supernatural Elements In Tradition	18
Chapter III	The Legacy of <u>Miko</u>	33
Chapter IV	Supernatural Element In Literature: A Study of <u>Kagura</u> and <u>Ennen</u> . .	49
Chapter V	Nō drama: its Literary, Social and Religious Background . . .	75
Chapter VI	Spirit-play of Nō	88
Chapter VII	A supernatural Character in The Nō Play <u>Hagoromo</u>	102
Chapter VIII	Conclusion	119
Appendix I	Development of Nō Drama . . .	132
Appendix 2	Contents of the Development of Nō Drama before 1350 . . .	133
Appendix 3	Contents of the Development of Nō Drama 1350-1450	134
Notes to Chapter I	. . . . .	15
Notes to Chapter II	. . . . .	30
Notes to Chapter III	. . . . .	46
Notes to Chapter IV	. . . . .	72
Notes to Chapter V	. . . . .	85
Notes to Chapter VI	. . . . .	101
Notes to Chapter VII	. . . . .	117
Notes to Chapter VIII	. . . . .	131
Bibliography		141

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

I	END	<u>Early Nō Drama</u> , by P.G.O'Neill
2	IOS	<u>Ihon onkyoku sakusha</u> (given in NG I33I-7)
3	JD	<u>Jika densho</u> (given in NG I337-44)
4	KGK	<u>Kodai kayō to girei no kenkyū</u> , by Tsuchihashi Yutaka
5	KHK	<u>Komparu Hachizaemon kaki-age</u> (given in NG I326)
6	KK	<u>Kagurauta kenkyū</u> , by Nishitsunoi Masayoshi
7	KS	<u>Kokayō sakusha-kō</u> (given in NG I33I-7)
8	KTK	<u>Kanze Tayū kaki-age</u> (given in NG I325-6)
9	NES	<u>Nihon engeki-shi</u> , by Iura Yoshinobu
IO	NG	<u>Nōgaku gūryū-kō</u> , by Nose Asaji
II	NKS	<u>Nihon kayō-shi</u> , by Takano Tatsuyuki
I2	NSC	<u>Nō-hon sakusha chūmon</u> (given in NG I328-3I)
I3	NUM	<u>Nihyakujū-ban utai mokuroku</u> (given in NG I326-8)
I4	TZN	(<u>Tōchū</u>) <u>Zeami nijūsambu-shū</u> , by Kawase Kazuma (ed.)

CHAPTER I

Introduction

The Japanese medieval Nō drama is a synthetic art of three elements --- words, music and dance. Unlike ballet, lyrical opera and drama generally, none of these elements in Nō claim precedence over the other; they are all equally important.

It is one of perhaps only two occasions when a completely unified art form has been achieved : one was the classic Greek tragedy which was a complete harmony of music, poetry and dance of which two are unfortunately lost today; but the Japanese medieval Nō drama has been preserved until today in full. Just as the classic Greek drama formed a great part of the religious festival of the Dionysia, so the Japanese medieval Nō drama sprang out of the religious festivals of the indigenous Shintō cult and the foreign Buddhist Deities.

The Nō owes its present form chiefly to the genius of two men; Kanami Kiyotsugu 観阿彌清次 (1333-1384 A.D.) and his son Zeami Motokiyo 在阿彌元清 (1363-1444 A.D.) who thus worked roughly in the hundred years from 1350-1450.

The three elements of words, music and dance, which formerly existed separately in different types of both aristocratic and popular entertainments, were beautifully amalgamated and synthesized into a new type of entertainment

known as Nō by these two artists from about the middle of the fourteenth century.

The word Nō is an abbreviation of Sarugaku no Nō. It is written with a Chinese character 能 meaning 'to be able'. It signifies 'talent', from this 'an exhibition of talent' or 'performance'. The word Sarugaku is written with two Chinese characters 猿樂 or 申樂 both meaning 'monkey pleasure'. Zeami used always the characters 申樂 in writing his treatise in which he gives the definition of the word Sarugaku.

The word Sarugaku was derived from Kagura at the time of the prince Shōtoku. The word kagura is written in Chinese 神樂 meaning 'The God pleasure'. At the time when the prince Shōtoku had Hata-no-Kawakatsu¹ arrange sixty six programmes of the new entertainments, he took off the first part of the character 神 so that it became 申 hence 申樂 meaning 'to talk of pleasure' or 'entertainment'.²

For an adequate account of Sarugaku Nō, it is necessary to go back briefly to the Nara period(710-793 A.D.), when Sarugaku was called Sangaku 散樂 meaning 'scattered music'. During the time of Prince Shōtoku(572-621 A.D.), various entertainments were brought into Japan from China and Korea.³ Sangaku was one of those prominent entertainments which were adapted with great enthusiasm. There were three elements

in Sangaku: amusing songs and dances; acrobatics, tumbling and juggling; and conjuring and magic. The pictures collected by Fujiwara Shinsei 藤原信西 give details of Sangaku. It was patronized by the Court and enjoyed by people of all classes on occasions such as the yearly Sumō wrestling festival, and other religious festivals. In the year 782 the schools which had been set up to teach Sangaku known as Sangakuko 散楽所 were abolished. As a result of this, a few players remained in the court as members of the Department of Music in the Imperial Household; some became lay priests of the great temples where they were free from heavy taxation and yet they could play Sangaku during the religious festivals of the temples, some led a gipsy-like life, wandering around from place to place while playing Sangaku at small village festivals. As a matter of fact, it was the last group of players who contributed greatly to the development of the Japanese general entertainments: they spread throughout the country the Sangaku performances which were enjoyed by people of the capital and at the same time they were eager to incorporate folk dances of remote places and absorb the hidden folk entertainments. This consequently expanded their repertoires and enriched their performances.

Towards the beginning of the twelfth century, another form of Sarugaku came into prominence. In the reign of the

Emperor Horikawa (1087-1107) on the night of the Kagura of the Inner Chamber, the Emperor sent for the Counsellor Ietsuna and said to him "Let to-night's Sarugaku be something remarkable!". Accordingly, Ietsuna proposed to his brother that they should pull up their shirts and, showing their bare legs⁴ in the bright glare of the courtyard fire, should run round it, singing:

Later and later grows the night,
Keener and keener grows the cold;
I will lift up my petticoat
And warm my fuguri at the fire.⁵

When it came to the point, Ietsuna lost courage; but his younger brother ran many times round the courtyard fire, which caused a great uproar among the audience.

This was in fact a kind of parody and an antidote to the solemnity of the kagura ceremonies. The Sarugaku of the period throughout the thirteenth century consisted of this type of buffoonery. This type of Sarugaku was called Shin-sarugaku meaning 'new sarugaku'. The Shin-Sarugakuki written by Fujiwara Akihira describes the types of farce which were performed by contemporary actors.

The tricks of a lad from the capital;
A man from the east makes his first visit to the capital;
The holy man Fuku-kō searches for his stole; and
The nun Myōkō seeks baby's swaddling clothes.⁶

Towards the middle of the fourteenth century Sarugaku became a serious dramatic performance. It was no longer the indecent charade, burlesque, the antidote to the solemnity of the kagura songs and dances. Sarugaku became an independent serious drama, which was called Sarugaku no Nō. The previous type of performance remained separate under the name Sarugaku-no Kyōgen 猿楽狂言 meaning 'Sarugaku mad words' hence 'Sarugaku comedies'.

Sarugaku Nō was thus established as a serious drama by two geniuses Kanami and Zeami. Kanami was the more creative of the two, and Zeami was ideally equipped for the task of improving and refining his father's work and systematising the whole artistic theory of the art.

The supernatural elements in Nō can be analyzed into two aspects: one is the spirit plays which owe much to Zeami's artistic sensibility and the other is the supernatural characters in the plays.

The spirit plays of Nō, as the name suggests, are ghost plays. The plot is carried out by three main characters namely mae-shite 'former player', nochi-shite 'later player' and waki 'secondary actor'. The two parts of mae and nochi-shite are played by one actor wearing different masks, but the waki never wears one.⁷ The nochi-shite represents the spirit which always appears later through the medium of the mae-shite. The

transformation of these two roles is explained by the subsidiary actor waki.

The supernatural beings in Nō may be classified into several groups as follows:

I. Shintō deities such as

8
Toyotamahime in Tamai
Ameno-Uzume-noMikoto⁹ in Ema
Kawara-no-Kami¹⁰ in Yumiyahata
Sumiyoshi-Myōjin¹¹ in Takasago
etc.

12
2. Demons(Oni) such as

Onigami in Numori
" in Tanikō
Oni in Adachigahara
" in Aya no tsuzumi
" in Dōjōji
etc.

3. Heavenly being (Tennin)¹³ in plays such as

Hagoromo
Tamai
Yoshino Tennin
Kusedo
Kuzu
etc.

4. Tree-spirits¹⁴ such as

the spirit of pine tree in Oimatsu
" an old cherry tree in Saigyō-zakura
" plum tree in Ume
" plantain tree in Bashō
" willow in Yugyō-yanagi
etc.

5. Animals and insects such as
 the lion^{I5} in Shakkyō
 the spider^{I6} in Tsuchigumo
 the yakan^{I7} in Sesshōseki
 the butterfly in Kochō
 etc.

6. The spirit of snow in Yuki.

It is fascinating to see the imaginative sensibility of medieval Japanese fully displayed in Nō drama. One may easily notice their firm belief in spiritualism and pantheism. The communication between this world and the other by means of miko and yamabushi as mediums, was a common matter. They believed in rebirth in the 'pure land' by means of phrase from the sutra(nenbutsu)^{I8}; to them even tree-spirits could fulfilⁱⁿ the salvation^{I9} by teaching of Amida. The idea of metamorphosis or incarnation is highly manifested, particularly in the handling of demons (oni). Actually the performance of oni was known as feature of the Yamato Sarugaku which Kanami's Kanze school was a part. The oni in the plays represent either someone in hell or the incarnation of a person who was turned into demon. The first type of oni can be seen in plays such as Hiun, and Tanikō, the other is Momijigari, Adachigahara, Nomori, Dōjōji, Aoi-no-Ue and Aya no tsuzumi.

Among all these supernatural aspects in Nō, I feel

particularly drawn to the extraordinary form and pervading sensibility displayed throughout the spirit plays of Nō drama. The main object of my thesis is the supernatural elements in these spirit plays. I believe that the above-mentioned technique of three-element framework that is to say, the mae-shite, the nochi-shite and the waki, probably derived from the traditional ritual of the summoning of the spirit called shōkon in Shintō and shihō-kanjō in Buddhism, which has been practised since the very beginning of history.

In my approach towards the subject, I shall divide the thesis into seven chapters. In the second chapter, I shall deal with various religious occasions in which the spirit was summoned. In the third chapter, I shall study a profession of mediums called miko, whose influence on development of Sarugaku Nō cannot be overlooked. In the fourth chapter, I shall study the literary content of religious läturgy like kagura, popular entertainments which followed after religious ceremonies like the Kasuga Wakamiya festival, and ennen performance at the Kōfuku-ji, Yakushi-ji and Tōdai-ji temples. This study will show how the element of the summoning of the spirit was gradually introduced into the form of Nō spirit plays. The fifth chapter illustrates the background of the Muromachi period as economic and social trends determined the broad movements of thought and opinion then as in every epoch. The sixth chapter is a study of several texts of spirit plays in

Nō drama. It is a comparative study with some western literary works which also dealt with vision. In the last chapter, I shall discuss one supernatural character from one Nō drama. The careful study of this character will disclose a custom of antiquity the significance of which is almost forgotten today.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. In the fourteenth year of the emperor Ojin 応神 (283 A.D.), a great number of Han tribe who claimed as the descendant of the emperor Shin immigrated into Japan from Paikche. They were skilled in weaving, and their success led to their being given the name of Hata clan by the emperor Nintoku (313-399 A.D.) and remaining as a powerful and wealthy clan of the time. In 539 A.D. the members of the Hata clan numbered 30,000. See Tsuji, Nihon bunka shi, vol.I 113-4.
2. 'Fūshi-Kaden', TZN 33.
3. See O'Neill, END 2-3.
4. These two brothers may have intended to imitate the goddess Ameno Uzume no mikoto who danced in front of the Rock Dwelling Cave: she pulled down her skirt while she was dancing, which caused uproar among the myriads of deities assembled there. See Chapter II. This may also refer to the episode of two brothers Umisachi 'sea prosperity' and Yama-sachi 'mountain prosperity' in Nihongi. See Kawatake, Gaisetsu Nihon engekishi, II-12.
5. Arthur Waley, The Nō plays of Japan, 15-6.
6. Quoted O'Neill, END, 5.
7. The idea of mae- and nochi-shite in spirit-play wearing masks indicates that they are persons of the other world, and waki without one a person of the present world.
8. The daughter of the sea-deity married Yama-sachi a hunter. See Philippi, Kojiki, 148.
9. See Chapter II.

- IO. This is probably the guardian deity of Kaharu 香春 in Kyūshū. The deity was worshipped among the community of immigrants from Silla, who engaged in mining. Takechino sukune is also known as Kawara no Kami. Cf. Yōkyoku jiten, I8I
- II. Sumiyoshi Shrine is located in Hyōgo and dedicated to the three deities who fought bravely at the battle against Korean kingdoms, about the third century; they are Soko-zutsu-no-o-no-mikoto, Naka-zutsu-no-o-no-mikoto and Uwa-zutsu-no-o-no-mikoto.
- I2. Yanagita suggests that a type of oni was the violent descendant of Yamabito 'mountain people'. See Yanagita 'Yamabito-kō', Yanagita Kunioshū, vol.4 I77-8.
- I3. Heavenly beings who could live both in heaven and on earth. She flew between the two worlds wearing a vest. special robe; engaged in Buddhist ritual, played the music of heaven, spread flowers of heaven and sprayed the fragrance of heaven during the ceremony. The image of tennin kept in Yakushiji represents the work of the Nara period; the image of the Byōdō-in Phoenix Hall represents the work of the Heian period.
- I4. The spirit of the old pine tree in the play Oimatsu and the spirit of the old willow in Yugyō yanagi are represented by old men in the first parts of the plays and in the second parts they appear as the spirits of the trees. Meanwhile in the play Saigyō zakura, the spirit of an old cherry tree appears in the first part, and then turns into the ghost of Saigyō [(I118-I190) the Buddhist monk and poet.] The spirits of plum, maple tree, wistaria and plantain tree are represented by village women at first and later turn into the spirits

of the trees. The play Kakitsubata 'Iris' has the spirit of iris which represents the spirit of the courtesan of that name.

- I5. The earliest reference to the lion in literature may be found in Gigaku; the lion ranked second in the long procession during the festival. The cloth-made lion was manipulated by two persons: it was led by a young boy, who suggested the Buddhist deity of sagacity and wisdom riding on a lion. The lion became a popular subject in kagura dances, Sangaku, Sarugaku and Dengaku performances. The word lion (shi shi) suggests the word shishi 'master and disciple', which may be regarded as a sort of pun.
- I6. The spider (tsuchigumo) was used as a synonym for kumaso an alien tribe.
- I7. Yakan 野干 'wild dog'. The play shows fantastic stages of incarnation: a stone → a wild dog → the spirit of a courtesan in the twelfth century in Japan → a Chinese beauty in the Tang dynasty → the spirit of an Indian prince.
- I8. See Chapter V.
- I9. See Hanada, Yōkyoku ni arawaretaru bukkō, I9.
20. 'Fūshi-kaden', TZN, I7-8.

CHAPTER II

Supernatural Elements in Tradition

The art of shōkon, or the summoning of the spirit of someone deceased by means of a medium, is an essential ritual of the Japanese native religion, Shinto. Primitive Japanese religion, like other religions of antiquity, sprang out of man's natural fear of death and his wonder at the mystery of birth. The Japanese in early history believed in the immortality of the soul. To them, death meant the separation of the soul from the body: the former was thought to return to heaven (takamagahara) where it obtained eternal life, and the latter to the underworld (yominokuni) where it decayed quickly.

The Kojiki^I 古事記 (712 A.D.) describes a mythological explanation of death and the afterworld: the creation-god Izanagi-no-mikoto, follows the creation-goddess, Izanami-no-mikoto, to the gate of the yominokuni after her death. He asks the goddess to come back to him to create some more land. She explains that it is impossible now that she has become a dweller of the underworld, but she promises to try to persuade the keeper of the place to let her go again. She forbids her husband to peep through the gate while she is negotiating with the power of the underworld. Like Orpheus in the underworld, however, Izanagi-no-mikoto is so curious that he cannot wait. Taking a light, he goes into the prohibited

place and what he sees there is her body covered with swarming maggots and the eight thunder-demons covering the eight different parts of her half-rotten and decayed corpse. He manages to escape from the horrid sight of the underworld, but he has to purify himself in the river and face a series of perilous adventures to atone for his disobedience.

In the ancient community, when a person died the whole family assembled to give a funeral. They built a mourning house and kept the body there until it was finally buried. The family sat around the deceased and kept singing and dancing for "eight days and eight nights". The Kojiki describes the funeral of the husband of the princess Shita-Teru-Hime, who was killed while he was asleep. She cries and cries:

" . . . the sound of the weeping of Sita-Teru-Hime, AMENO-WAKA-PIKO's wife, was carried by the wind and sounded again and again in the heavens. Then the father in the heavens of AME-NO-WAKA-PIKO, AMATSU-KUNI-TAMA-NO-KAMI, as well as his wife and children, heard (this) and descending, wept and lamented. Immediately in that place they built a funeral house. They made a wild goose of the river the bearer of the burial offerings, a heron the broom-bearer; a kingfisher the bearer of the food offerings, a sparrow the grinding woman; and a pheasant the weeping-woman.² Having thus determined roles (of each), they sang and danced for eight days and eight nights." ³

An incident in this story suggests⁴ that the significance of dancing and singing around the deceased is the calling back of the soul of the departed to the present world. What happened

to the family in the story was this. The parents saw a young man among the mourners. They thought at once that their dead son had come back from the underworld. They dashed towards the young man with joy. But they realized that the young man was a friend of their son. This mistake was an unpardonable disgrace to the living. The young man immediately cut the mourning house into peices with his sword so that he could purify himself.

An example of a funeral at which the soul was in fact called back to the world is the story of the Sun-Goddess who had hidden herself in the Heaven-Rock-Dwelling, that is also mentioned in the Kojiki.⁵ The God of the earth, Susanō-o-no-mikoto, having a wild and violent character, caused all sorts of disasters on earth. His sister, the Sun-Goddess Amaterasu-o-mikami, who tried to be patient with him was very annoyed by his bad behaviour. He broke a hole in the roof of the weaving-house where the goddess and her servant were making the divine garment and through the hole threw " a heavenly piebald horse which he had flayed with a backward flaying⁶". The weaving woman was so shocked at this sight that she hurt herself with the weaving tool and died. The Sun-Goddess was terrified by this and closed the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling to shut herself in. Then the whole world was darkened --- eternal night prevailed. Evil awakened and predominated in the world. Therefore the eight hundred myriad deities gathered in front

of the divine cave in the bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven. The scheming deity, Omoikane-no-mikoto, took the initiative in the assembly. He ordered a stage with a sakaki tree (cleyera japonica), a mirror and jewels.⁷ A goddess called Ameno-Uzume-no-mikoto was chosen as a dancer. She wore a sash (chihaya)⁸ around her shoulder and had a twig of bamboo-grass (sasa)⁹ in her hand. She pushed down her skirt-string and pulled out the nipples of her breasts and went on dancing like a hypnotised woman. Then the world shook and eight hundred myriad deities burst into laughter. The Sun-Goddess in the cave wondered what was happening outside. She slightly opened the door. The deity of strength, Ameno-tajikarao-no-mikoto, who was hiding behind the door, opened it wide and drew the goddess out of the cave. Thus the light came back to the world again.

This episode can be explained as a story of the solar eclipse.¹⁰ Yet it also represents the art of shōkon: by her frantic dance Ameno-Uzume-no-mikoto performed kamioroshi, the art of bringing down a divine being to the present world.

The worship of an ancestor which intrinsically started from the family funeral, eventually developed into the worship of a gurdian deity of the clan, as civilization advanced and men came to build shrines in their communities. This was how myriads of shrines have come to be erected all over Japan. People worshipped the gods as their protectors from enemies

and all kinds of misfortunes. Interestingly enough, the divine beings of Shinto have never dwelt in shrines all the time. They visit shrines at fixed times of the year; generally twice a year, at planting time in spring and at harvest time in the early winter. People could call the gods to the shrine in such cases of emergency as an outbreak of war, a famine, or an epidemic. The gods descended to the shrine by means of the ritual ceremony kamioroshi or shōkon conducted by miko 'priestess' and negi 'priest' both of whom could act as mediums for this transition. This custom of shōkon has been carried on throughout the country.

The annual festival of the Shiromi^{II} shrine in Kyūshū is one of the many examples which one can still see of the art of kamioroshi. The shrine is located in the depth of the mountains and has two hundred thirty families in the parish. The festival is held on the 12th of December and lasts five days. In the first two days people of the village build an open-air altar six yards square; they heap mould on the ground in the courtyard of the shrine where they receive seven heaven-gods, five earth-gods and eight myriad of gods and goddesses altogether. On the evening of the 14th, a priest and twelve chosen men go to the valley to meet their divine guests, and then a long procession marches back to the open-air altar. Then entertainment begins with a toast of rice wine; music and dances go on till the following

morning. The music consist of the five musicians who play drums, flute and gaku which is a plain slab of wood on which the musician beats the time with his hands. The twenty-five persons take part in thirty-three different dances including a sort of crude drama: most of the programme consists of fertility dances. On the following day, the villagers send their gods and goddesses back to the takamagahara 'heaven' making a long procession in the garden and the inside of the shrine while scattering grains of rice everywhere they move in procession and pray for a good harvest in the forthcoming year. On the last day, to finish the festival they gather on the river-side of the village and perform a hunting ceremony.

Some Shinto festivals¹² stil preserve the traditional ritual of summoning a divine spirit and delivering an oracle. In these, a priest or sometimes an infant boy is chosen as a medium for the ritual. During a typical ceremony of this kind,¹³ twelve priests carrying wands sing hymns and recite auspicious words (norito) to summon the divine spirit. Meanwhile the medium goes into trance and predicts the harvest for the year or future events in the village. He also answers questions put to him by the attendant priests. The ritual is thus carried out in a three-element framework---spirit, medium and interlocutor. There is thus a marked similarity between the form of this Shinto ritual and the construction of the spirit play in Nō. That is to say, in the latter, the former

player (mae-shite) acts as a medium possessed by the spirit represented by the later actor (nochi-shite), and the secondary actor (waki) acts as the interlocutor. The three-element framework therefore appears as basic both to this type of Shinto ceremony and the spirit play in Nō.

The summoning of the spirit was not a rite exclusive to the early Shinto religion. The esoteric Buddhist religion was also involved in this mystic practice of calling mighty power from another world. It is to be seen in such ceremonies under such names as Shūshō-e ^{修正会} and Shūnigatsu-e ^{修二月会} and has been carried out in such main temples in Nara as the Tōdaiji, Kōfukuji and Hōryūji since the late Nara period (710-793 A.D.). There is no basic difference between the two ceremonies except that one is held in the first month and the other is in the second month of the year. Both ceremonies are carried out by the chief priests of the temple in conditions of strict secrecy. The significance of the ceremonies is as a prayer for nation's safety and prosperity and a good harvest in the coming year. Later this esoteric ceremony of Shūshō-e has come to be accompanied by an additional part at the end of the festival. This is known as Shūshō-ki-e ^{修正鬼会} meaning 'demon festival' or Tsuina-shiki ^{追善式} meaning 'ceremony of misfortune', so that spectators could participate in the ceremony and understand the significance of the liturgy.

The significance of this performance is equivalent to the miracle plays and mysteries of the medieval England, in which the stories of the Old Testament and the life of Christ was taught by means of sacred plays performed by the priests often in church.

The demon festival consists of six different sequences, each of which is acted by a temple priest known as Shushi 咒師. The festival goes as follows:¹⁴

1) Two priests come up on the stage. They carry a long stick with many pieces of paper prayer tied at one end of it, a large bunch of rice straw and a plate full of grains of rice. They scatter the straw and rice while they sing 'Appear white jewels' 'rice'; 'Appear black jewels' 'charcoal'. This rite is a prayer for favourable weather and a good harvest in the year.

2) Two priests carrying swords summon the four mighty powers from the four directions. The point of this ceremony is to invite the gods to protect the land from evils. This rite is known as shihō kanjō 四方勧請 meaning 'welcoming gods from the four directions'.

3) Two priests carry a stick and dedicate sacred water which keeps evil from spectators.

4) A red demon with a hatchet in his right hand and a torch in his left, dashes onto the stage and runs around. A black demon follows him and keeps hopping and jumping around the stage while musicians sing 'There are demons in the ground.'

6) They throw small rice-cakes to the onlookers; these represent the eyes of the god by which evil will be frightened. Then the two red and black demons run through the spectators carrying burning torches by which they purify them.

As a matter of fact, the demon festival was a simplified representation of the esoteric Buddhist doctrine which had been carried out previously in a secret liturgy. It was presented as a simple form of drama with the idea of teaching and entertaining as well. Interestingly enough, this task was later taken over by laymen who were professional Sarugaku players. This origin of Sarugaku Shushi has been described as follows:¹⁵

... when temple priest known as Shushi, who carried out esoteric rites at such ceremonies as the Shūshō-e in the first moon and the Shūnigatsu-e in the second, tried to make the significance of the rites clear to the onlooker by means of simple performances which included songs and dances. If, for example, spells designed to drive away devils had been recited, a piece might later be performed showing such evil figured being overcome by priests armed with the teaching of the Buddha. Gradually the name Shushi Sarugaku begins to appear in connexion with these performances because, in time, the priests passed the task of giving the plays to the professional Sarugaku players who had joined the temples after the dissolution of the official schools.

The ancient Japanese people thus believed that they could keep some kind of rapport between this world and the other through the medium. It was carried out in the form of a solemn ritual at shrines and temples. Then the gravity of the ceremony was followed by lighter entertainments, which consisted of

dances, acrobatic, juggling, pole-riding and some primitive forms of drama, which were imitations of the esoteric ritual.

Japanese medieval drama originated from this group of light entertainment known as Sangaku and Shushi Sarugaku performed at religious ceremonies in the Nara (710-792) and the Heian (793-1191) periods. It was developed and established as an accomplished form of drama in the early Muromachi period (1337-1602) by the two dramatists Kanze Kiyotsugu and his son Zeami Motokiyo.

It is possible to see that some of the mystic and supernatural elements in Kanami and, particularly, Zeami must have come from the influence of the professional Sarugaku Shushi who inherited the performance of the demon festival of Shushi who interpreted the obscure Buddhist ritual of Shūni-e and Shūshō-e ceremonies. An example of the close connexion between Shushi and Sarugaku Nō is still to be seen today in the Takigi Nō given yearly in March at the Kasuga Shrine in Nara. In this, the set of songs and dances known as Okina, which has by no means lost its religious significance even today, is still called "Shushi Okina" as it was when the performances formed part of the Shūnigatsu-e ceremonies of the nearby Kōfukuji temple. ¹⁶ Another example is the influence of the art of shihō kanjō on the spirit plays of Kanami and Zeami. The liturgy of the Yakushi-ji temple records the details of the Shushi summoning four mighty powers from the four directions. It goes as follows; ¹⁷

The shushi stand up at each corner and each calls in a loud voice the power from the each direction;

I humbly beseech you Daitsurada¹⁸ to come from the east.
(rings the bell)

I humbly beseech you Birurokusha¹⁹ to come from the south.
(rings the bell)

I humbly beseech you Birubakusha²⁰ to come from the west.
(rings the bell)

I humbly beseech you Bishiramanda²¹ to come from the north.
(rings the bell)

It is not difficult to find this art of shihō kanjō copied later in the texts of Nō drama. Here is an example taken from Sotoba Komachi²² 'Komachi at the stupa'.

Priests in the play remorstrate with the old Ono no Komachi for sitting on a stupa.

Priest. It was an act of discord.

Komachi. Sometimes from discord salvation springs.

Second Priest. From the malice of Daiba.²³

Komachi. As from the mercy of Kan-non.²⁴

Priest. From the folly of Handoku.²⁵

Komachi. As from the wisdom of Monju.²⁶

Similarly in the play, Aoi no Ue²⁷ 'Lady Aoi', a yamabushi 'mountain priest' carries out shihō kanjō to invoke the mighty powers to calm the living phantasm of the Lady Rokujō.

Chorus: Gozanze Myōo²⁸ of the East,

Rokujō: Gundari-yasha²⁹ Myōo of the South,

Chorus: Daiitoku Myōo³⁰ of the West,

Rokujō: Kongō-yasha³¹ Myōo,

Chorus: Of the North,

Rokujō: The most Wise Fudo Myōo³² of the Centre

Chorus: Namaku, Samanda, Basarada, Senda, Madaroshana,
Sowataynutara, Takamman.

Who hears my teaching

Shall gain profundity of wisdom;

Who knows my mind

Shall gain the purity of Buddhahood.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Philippi, Kojiki, 6I-3.
2. The mourners must have dressed as birds. The soul of the dead person was believed to assume the form of a bird. It was said to be indispensable for flight to the other world. Cf. Philippi, Kojiki, I26 and Nakayama, Mihon miko shi., 43.
3. Philippi, Kojiki, I26-7.
4. Ibid. I27. n.I2.
5. Ibid. 8I-6.
6. One of the items of sin described among the tribe of Kyūshū in early time. Cf. Yanagita, 'Yamabito-ko' Yanagita Kunio shū, vol.4.I74.

Flaying a live animal from the tail up is mentioned together with "skinning alive" in the norito as one of the heavenly sins (ama-tsu-tsumi). Philippi (op.cit.,80.n.8.) suggests this as some sort of black magic practice.
7. Hanging mirrors and cloth offerings on branches of uprooted trees was a common practice in ancient Japanese worship; undoubtedly the tree thus decked became the temporary abode of the spirit of the deity.
8. One of the most ancient of all Japanese garment. A long roll of cloth with an opening for the head cut out about two feet from one end. The shorter end hung down in front of the body and the remaining length of about sixteen feet trailed behind. Cf.O'Neill, 'The Special Kasuga Wakamiya Festival of I349', Monumenta Nipponica, vol.I4.I3.

9. Later the word sasa became synonym to kagura of the Nara period: Nihon kogo daijiten,
10. Nakayama, NMS, 211.
11. Honda, Kagura, 645.
12. Ibid. 50-53.
13. Ibid. 51.
14. Nishitsunoi(ed.), Nenchū gyōji jiten, 513-4.
15. O'Neill, END, 6.
16. Ibid.
17. Nose, NG, 116.
18. Dhṛtarāstra, Jikoku ten-no 持國天王
One of the Four-Quarter kings, who protects the eastern continent of the world.
19. Virūdhaka, Jōchō ten-no 增長天王
One of the Four-Quarter kings, who protects the southern continent of the world.
20. Virūpākṣa, Kōmoku ten-no 広目天王
One of the Four-Quarter kings and protects the western continents. He lives in the sky on the western side of Mt. Sumeru.
21. Vaiśravaṇa, Tamon ten-no, 多聞天王
One of the Four-Quarter kings and protects the northern continents.
22. Waley, The Nō plays of Japan, 154.
23. Deva who was south Indian philosopher lived in the third century.
24. Avolokiteśvara: the guardian of Amida Buddha.
25. Handoku was one of Buddha's disciples, known as a fool,

five hundred people tried to teach him how to write fourteen letters for three years without success, but Buddha finally succeeded. Eventually he became as wise as Monju, the deity of wisdom.

26. Manjusri(Monju): an assistant of Buddha; and the deity of wisdom. His image is sometime represented as a child riding on a lion.
27. Translated in Japanese Nō Drama, Nippon gakujutsu shinkōkai, vol. II.101.
28. Trailokya-vijaya: one of the five Myō-o: Vidya-raya; the incarnation of tathagata 'truth', converts the most difficult people. He guards the east. The image has three faces with eight hands.
29. Kundali: One of five Myō-o who guards the south. The image of this deity carries armour, flame and snake around his body.
30. Yamantaka: one of the five Myō-o who guards the west. The image of this deity is varied: the one riding on a buffalo is the most popular image.
31. Vajrayaksa: one of the five Myō-o who guards the north. The image has three faces, each with five eyes and a frightful expression to scare the devil.
32. Acala: the chief of the five Myō-o. The guardian of yamabushi 'mountain priest'. The image is varied. Usually it has a frightful countenance and flames around the shoulders and carries weapons in hand.

CHAPTER III

The Legacy of Miko

The art of summoning the dead was one of the ecstatic religious practices in the palaeolithic culture of both western and eastern countries. In England, however, where Christianity found its way in the sixth century, it swept away the indigenous fertility cult of the native tribes, leaving only a few rites like the Maypole dance, which was so tolerated and well adapted by the Church that one can hardly notice its pagan origin. Witches and Supernatural being were the two main types of worshippers of this primitive cult. One can only perceive this ecstatic practice through classical witchcraft which was often described in obscure literary works or biased religious documents. Pennethorne Hughes tries to describe a scene of classical witchcraft as follows:^I

The dates of the big festivals were those of the old hunting ceremonies, and the times of the mating of animals. The witches would gather at the full moon, naked or in black robes, to pick herbs at midnight. These had to be reaped with a bronze sickle-which must have been a late accretion. They danced and indulged generally in ecstatic practices, howled unintelligibly like dogs or wolves, and shouted nonsense rhymes. They tore a black lamb into pieces to summon the dead.

When Buddhism was introduced into Japan in the sixth century, the emperor became a Buddhist and the nobles follow-

ed. the emperor. Gradually Buddhism spread among the common people all over the country, but did not clash with the primitive religion of ancient Japan. It took the form of co-existence with the cult of Shintō. The esoteric doctrines and practices of the Tendai and Shingon sects even encouraged the spiritualistic ritual among the Japanese. Those who acted as mediums in this cult of summoning the spirits came within such categories as kannushi 神主 'priest', miko 巫女 'priestess' in Shintō; genza 験者 or yamabushi 山伏 'mountain priest' in Shūgendō 'cult of mountain-spirit'; and hijiri 聖 'high-ranking monk' in Buddhism.

The framework of the study in this chapter is particularly the legacy of miko, whose influence on the general culture of medieval Japan was outstanding.

Early historical documents tell us that magic power was often used by chiefs to rule the nation. The Chinese chronicle Gishi wajin den ² 魏志倭人伝 (edited c.300 B.C.) by Chen Shui 陳壽 (?-297 B.C.) describes Japan as being a country ruled by a woman called Himiko 卑彌呼 who possessed the magic ability to communicate with supernatural beings.

The Nihon Shoki ³ 日本書紀 'Chronicle of Japan' (720 A.D.) mentions that the empress Jingū 神功 (201-269 A.D.) carried out the ceremony of shōkon 招魂 'the calling of the spirit' and heard an oracle which led the nation to conquer the Korean peninsula. The empress secluded herself in the Itsuki-no-miya

齋宮 'sanctum' and served as a miko acting as a medium for seven days and seven nights. As well as a musician, Takechi-no-sukune 武内宿禰 to play the koto 'Japanese harp', she had an interlocutor, Nakatomi Ikatsu-no-omi 中臣烏賊津使主 to ask questions of her as she became the incarnation of the Sun Goddess during the ceremony. He asked the question: "Who is the God who on a former day instructed the Emperor? I pray that I may know his name." After seven days and seven nights there came an answer saying:--- " I am the deity who dwells in the Shrine of split-bell Isuzu . . .

It was a long established custom for female members of the imperial family to serve as miko at the imperial Shrines.⁴ The emperor Sūjin 崇神 (97-30 B.C.) made his daughter a miko of the Ise Shrine. This custom continued for seventy generations. An imperial miko of the Ise Shrine was called Itsuki-no-miya 齋宮 'royal priestess'. The emperor Saga 山差峨 (810-823 A.D.) sent his daughter to the Kamo Shrine as a miko known as Sai-in 齋院. This custom lasted some thirty generations. These miko at shrines served as mediums at the ritual of shōkon during festivals. In fact, the idea of the usual Shintō ceremony is to summon a divine spirit to the shrine and then to ask for such things as a good harvest and protection from disasters. The solemn Shintō liturgy is often followed by entertainment called kagura 神樂 'entertainment for the gods'. Kagura is performed either on an open-air stage

erected in the courtyard of a shrine for the festival or on a roofed stage which is a permanent part of the shrine building known as the Kagura Hall. Naturally in early times miko were required to have some ability in dancing and singing, and sometimes in writing poems, for it was they who entertained the divine spirit and the audiences who gathered round the sacred state.

The passage of time produced various type of miko with different social standing. Besides those who were from respectable families and belonged to authoritative shrines like those of Ise and Kamo, there arose a new type of miko who did not belong to any particular shrine but made a living by summoning spirits. Miko of the first type were known as kamiko⁵ 神子 'priestess' and their art of summoning spirits was distinguished by the term kamioroshi. The second type of miko was called ichiko 市子 'secular priestess' and their art of summoning spirits was called kuchiyose, which means 'summoning to the mouth'. Ichiko had a vast stratum of clients from the ordinary people to nobles and warriors. Writing in the late Heian period, Fujiwara Akihira 藤原明衡 (988-1066) describes vividly the mass of people who went to see a performance of sarugaku and dengaku in his book Shin Sarugakuki 新猿楽記 (1058). One of them was a miko whom Akihira described as follows:

She was an expert at fortunetelling, kuchiyose, kamioroshi and manipulating strings.⁶ She looked

like a fairy when she danced and had a voice like a bird of paradise. Her performance on the Japanese horizontal harp was so superb that the spirit of the god of earth and the god of heaven were summoned easily. Even a monster would be charmed and tamed when she played the hand drum. Men and women, whether of high or low estate, both rich and poor, from near and far, visited her in a long queue. She had no more space to keep rice brought by customers, and her house was full of sacred paper wands. 7

The Nō drama Aoi no Ue 'The Lady Aoi' gives a vivid description of an ichiko at the ritual of summoning spirits. She used a catalpa bow instead of a koto.

Miko. Ten shōjō; chi shōjō.
Naige shōjō; rokkon shōjō.
Pure above; pure below.
Pure without; pure within.
Pure in eyes, ears, heart and tongue.

(She plucks her bow-string, reciting the spell.)

You whom I call
Hold loose the reins
On your grey colt's neck
As you gallop to me
Over the long sands!

(The living phantasm of Rokujō appears at the back of the stage.)

.

Rokujō. I am come, I am come to the notch of your bow
To tell my sorrow.
Whence came the noise of the bow-string?⁸

In fact, these ichiko were not in a profession of a

a respectable kind. The humblest of all was the type called kugutsu 傀儡子 'puppet manipulator' who did not settle in one place but wandered about towns and villages like gipsies or vagabonds. They were regarded socially as beggars, and on occasions were even violent thieves and robbers who were much feared by the people of the time. Another poet and scholar of Chinese of the same period Ōe no Masafusa 大江房 (IO40-IIII) describes a kugutsu woman in his book Kugutsu mawashi no ki (IO90). "The kugutsu had no fixed place to stay and no house to live in, but camped in the fields or along the river banks. They worshipped idols, danced and indulged in ecstatic practices. The kugutsu woman put heavy make-up on her face, a thick white-powdered face with red-painted cheeks, glittering eyebrows and curled eyelashes. She had a coquettish way of walking and was an angel of the street."9

The historical study of miko shows that their ability to play musical instruments and improvise songs and dances later led to a new profession when the miko left the shrines while still young. The best way for them to earn their living after their retirement was to set up a gay quarter where they could entertain customers with music and dance.¹⁰ This was how the profession of geisha had started in Japan.

Those entertainers were called by various names such as shirabyōshi, yūjo or kusemai-hime. II These entertainers

did not practice shōkon or kuchiyose but indulged in dancing or singing to the accompaniment of the musical instruments which were once used for the ritual of summoning spirits.

The word shirabyōshi literally means 'plain rhythm'. The court dances of the Nara and Heian periods known as Bugaku 新樂 and the Buddhist chant of the time had parts called shirabyōshi. 白拍子 Later a special professional type of dancer performed to this shirabyōshi rhythm and eventually it became the name of profession itself. The Heike monogatari ^{I2} 平家物語 vol.I.(1233) mentions the origin of shirabyōshi: two women called Shima-no-Zenji and Waka-no-mae in the reign of Gotoba-in (1184) performed a new type of dance. The two women wore the garments of warriors, white top-robies and long wide trousers. They wore upright ceremonial hats and carried swords. The Tsurezuregusa ^{I3} 徒然草 (1331) states that a noble and Buddhist priest, Fujiwara Shinsei 藤原信西 (1105-1159), who was a noted cultured man of the late Heian period, simplified some choreography of Bugaku dances which were kept exclusively among the aristocratic society and taught the dances to a group of entertainers and courtesans. They performed this new type of dance at banquets of the warriors and at festivals of important shrines and temples. The shirabyōshi dances, however, did not gain respectability when they first appeared. A twelfth century noble, Fujiwara Moronaga 藤原師長 (1136-1192) criticized shirabyōshi as

the music and dance of a nation in ruins. His account goes as follows:

It is ever the way in the houses of China to learn the state of the country by watching the dances and listening to the songs. Now there are here dances called Shirabyōshi. One listens to the music and finds that, of the five, it is in the mode of shō. This is the mode of a nation in ruins. One looks at the dances and finds that they consist of a dancer turning round with head held up to the sky. Such a sight is very painful. They are unpleasing dances, in both music and movement.^{I4}

Time quickly changed the reputation of shirabyōshi; a number of woman dancers became the consorts of men of high rank. The retired emperor Go-Toba, for example was married to a former shirabyōshi. Some members of the Fujiwara family had shirabyōshi as their wives or mistresses. The story of the great warrior Minamoto Yoshitsune and Shizuka Gozen is another example of the liaisons between men of high rank and these entertainers. The Gempei Seisuiiki^{I5} 源平盛衰記 (I258) gives a sketch of the competitive world of shirabyōshi dancers and interestingly enough, gives some information about shirabyōshi performances. A brave unknown shirabyōshi, Hotoke Gozen, presented herself at the gate of Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (III7-II8I) hoping to gain his favour. Hotoke Gozen began her programme with

a recitation of a short poem written in Chinese style known as kanshi 'Han poem'. Kiyomori did not dislike her voice, and bade her to continue her performance. Then she danced to the accompaniment of a hand drum. She finished her dance with recitation of a poem written in Japanese style known as waka 'Japanese poem'. It was a great success and because of this event the former consort of Kiyomori, Giō fell from favour and had to leave the palace and retire to a nunnery.

A biography of Minamoto no Yoshitsune, the Gikeiki^{I6} 義経記 (completed 1412?) provides another example of shirabyōshi dances. The shōgun, Minamoto no Yoritomo, was eager to find the whereabouts of his younger brother Yoshitsune whom he thought to be a traitor and usurper of his position as ruler. Yoshitsune and his mistress Shizuka Gozen, a former shirabyōshi, made their escape from place to place. They came to a Buddhist temple in the mountains of Yoshino, but as no woman was allowed to enter the temple according to the strict religious code of the time, Shizuka had to leave. She was later summoned by the shōgun Yoritomo, who was arranging a ceremony at the Kamakura Hachiman Shrine, and was asked to dance at the ceremony. The reason behind this arrangement was of course to find out news of Yoshitsune from Shizuka. She agreed and performed a shirabyōshi dance

in the kagura hall at the shrine. She recited first her own poem which told of her ardent longing for her lover. Then she danced to the accompaniment of a hand-drum played by two warriors. She finished her performance with a recitation of a short poem, again full of sadness. Evidently this aroused great sympathy among the audience.

The two examples of shirabyōshi performances indicate that the shirabyōshi dance consisted of three different parts song, dance, song performed in a musical progression known as jo, ha, kyū 序破急 'introduction', 'development' and 'climax'. These two shirabyōshi performances can be analyzed as follows:

A) Hotoke Gozen

1. The recitation (rōei) jo
2. Dance with the accompaniment
of hand-drum ha
3. The recitation (waka rōei) kyū

B) Shizuka Gozen

1. The recitation (waka rōei) jo
2. Dance with the accompaniment
of hand-drum ha
3. The recitation of waka kyū

The idea of jo, ha, kyū was actually derived from the Bugaku^{I7} of the Nara and the Heian periods and was taken into the dances of the Muromachi period. ^{I8}

Another type of dance of the time, which should

not be overlooked, is the dance called kusemai 曲舞.

It was performed by both men and women, and by boys. The two illustrations of shirabyōshi and kusemai in the Shokunin utaawase¹⁹ 職人歌合 do not show any significant difference between them except that the former wears an upright hat (eboshi) while the latter does not. They were often mentioned together in works of the Muromachi period. It is not known exactly when kusemai arose. A record of Gion Shrine has the first known entry of the name kusemai, stating that it was performed during a festival in 1318.²⁰ It is a well known fact that Kanami's adoption of kusemai into Sarugaku led his school to a great success. His son Zeami mentions kusemai in his treatise Go-on 五言 as follows:

True Kusemai consists of Kami-dō, Shimo-dō, Nishino-take, Tenjiku, and the Kaga women. (Otozuru; My father learned from this line) Kaga, in Nara, is said to have come down from the Hyakuman woman's Fushi-Kusemai.²¹ It is this house (which performs) Kusemai on the floats at the Gion Festival.²²

The word kusemai literally means 'peculiar and unconventional dance'. The beat is the main element in kusemai. The music was known as sōka 'quick song' or enkyoku 'banquet song' which was a fashionable entertainment in the occasion of feasts among the priests and warriors in the Kamakura period. Most sōka were written and put to music

by learned Buddhist monks of the time. Evidently the melody was similar to that of Buddhist chant, and was sung in quick tempo, one note to one syllable. Originally, sōka did not include dance or mime. The distinctive style of dance was added to the song later. The kusemai sometimes earned imperial disapproval.²³

The retired emperor Go-Komatsu (reigned 1393-1394) had a chance to listen to a Kusemai dancer called Yohachi. After having heard her three or four times, the emperor ordered her not to sing any more. The song sounded to him as the music of an age of turmoil. Sure enough there later came the Akamatsu troubles.²⁴

The shirabyōshi and kusemai dances both met royal disapproval in the beginning but later gained popularity and respectability and became an important part of the programme of religious celebrations known as ennen²⁵ 延年, shirabyōshi-e²⁶ and dengaku²⁷ 田楽.

The record of the festival of the Kasuga Wakamiya Shrine in Nara (generally known as the Onmatsuri) in 1349²⁸ gives ample evidence that a guild of miko entertainers who belonged to the Shrine, acted Sarugaku during the festival, which took place on the 10th day of the second moon of the 5th year of Jōwa. Various popular entertainments of the time such as Azuma-asobi²⁹ which was a dance included in the court dance, Seinō³⁰ which

was a crude dance drama, Dengaku³¹ which was one of folk dances and Sarugaku etc were presented by a number of miko who spent several months in rehearsal. The document which was found in 1934 in the possession of the Suzuka family³² gives details of the programme, the names of the miko who participated in the festival, their costume, and the expenditure on the event. Interestingly, among the names mentioned in the record is that of a miko called Otozuru Gozen who danced Okina omote³³ and Rambyōshi³⁴ during the interval of the long procession.

It is possible that Kanami, who was seventeen years old at that time, had a chance to watch this spectacular programme. And even more important, the Otozuru Gozen in this festival might be identified with the Otozuru who taught kusemai to Kanami as stated in Zeami's treatise. Whether this is true or not, one cannot deny the fact that the role and influence of miko on miscellaneous entertainments of the late Heian, Kamakura and Muromachi periods, was on an immense scale. They were a medium of communication between the dead and the living and at the same time, acted as mediums between two different patterns of the culture: that is to say the culture of the nobility in the Heian period and that of the warrior in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

- I. P.Hughes, Witchcraft, 40.
2. Ishihara, Gishiwajin-den, 81.
3. Aston, Nihongi, 225.
4. Nakayama, NMS, 4-5.
5. Ibid. I-24.
6. 寄絃 yori 'to pluck': tsuru 'string'
It may refer to a set of bow and arrow which was used by Ichiko miko in kuchiyose. (It was used as a fiddle with monocorde and the fiddle-bow.) The miko who used it was known as Azusa miko, since the bow made of azusa 'catalpa'.
7. 'Shinsarugakuki', Gunshō ruijū, vol.9.343.
8. Waley, The Nō plays of Japan, I82-3.
9. 'Kugutsumawashi no ki', Gunshō ruijū, vol.9.324.
10. Nakayama, NMS, 583.
11. Yanagita Kuno classifies miko, yūjo and kugutsu as derived from the same source. Cf. 'Josei to minkandenshō' Yanagita Kunioshū, vol.8. 353-5.
12. Quoted in Iwahashi, Nihon geinō-shi, 37.
13. Nishio, Tsuresuregusa, II2.
14. Zokukojidan Shinkō gunshō-ruijū, vol.487, qtd. O'Neill, END, 44.
15. Genpei seisui ki, vol.I7. Nihon bungaku taikei, vol. I. 580.
16. Gikeiki vol.6. Nihon koten zenshūbon, qtd. Ogata, Ōchō geijutsushi, 336.

- I7. Iura, 'Bugaku no kōsei', NES, I72-4.
Zeami mentions jo, ha, kyū in Nō in 'Fūshikaden',
Kadensho and 'Johakyū no koto', Hanakagami.
- I8. Ogata, Ōchōgeijutsushi, 335-7.
- I9. Cf. O'Neill, END, 47.
20. Iwahashi, 'Kusemai' Nihon geinō shi, 53.
Nose, 'Nō no senkō geijutsu' Nōgaku zensho, 60.
21. The traditional style of Kusemai as opposed to the
latter, modified kind.
22. "Go-on" 'Ongyoku-kowadashi-kuden' TZN, 73.qtd.
O'Neill, END, 46.
23. O'Neill, END, 43.
24. The assassination of the sixth shōgun Ashikaga
Yoshinori by Akamatsu Mitsusuke in the first year of
Kakitsu.
25. Cf. Chapter IV.
26. Meigetsuki written by Fujiwara Teika, quoted Ogata
'shirabyōshi' Ōchō geijutsushi, 318.
27. 'Miko no dengaku' quoted *ibid*, 204-6.
28. Nose, NG, 356.
O'Neill, 'The Special Kasuga Wakamiya Festival of
I349.' Monumenta Nipponica, vol.I4.
29. See Chapter VII
30. See Chapter IV
31. See chapter IV
32. Members of Suzuka family have served the Yoshida
Shrine in Kyoto for long time as priest. Cf.O'Neill
'The Special Kasuga Wakamiya Festival of I349',
Monumenta Nipponica, vol.I4.3-4.

33. Otozuru Gozen danced the early type of Nō drama known as Okina, an auspicious piece which is always played at New Year performances and on ceremonial occasions such as the opening of a new theatre. See Nose, NGK, I64-244. for the content of Okina.
34. A dance which was performed by shirabyōshi dancers, probably derived from Bugaku.

CHAPTER IV

Supernatural Element in Literature

A Study of Kagura and Ennen

Song and dance, as Zeami emphasized in his treatise,¹ are essential elements in the structure of Nō drama. The beauty of Nō depends entirely on songs and dances inserted in a play as the peak elements of the whole structure. Therefore characters should be chosen deliberately to be in harmony with the poetic atmosphere which songs and dances create in a play. But then there arises the question of why and how song and dance came to take such an important role in Nō play. The present chapter is concerned with historical and religious rites and ceremonies in which songs and dances formed the essential part. In investigating these, one can seek clues as to how a supernatural element, the art of summoning the spirit, came to be involved in the structure of Nō drama which was also part of religious festivals in early times.

As has been suggested by social anthropologists,² the description of a family banquet with music and dance in the funeral house for seven days and seven nights, and the similar description of the goddess Ame-no-Uzume-no-Mikoto, dancing with a twig of bamboo(sasa) in her hand at the assembly of eight myriad deities in front of the Rock Dwelling Cave, indicate that the ancient Japanese had a firm belief in rapport between this world and the other. The

spirit could be brought back to this world by the device of music and dance. This technique of the summoning of the spirit was known as shōkon 招魂 'calling of the spirit'. The word of shōkon songs are not preserved today. It is only possible to see fragments of shōkon words in the songs of religious ceremonies arranged³ officially later in the Heian period (794-1181). These songs are called under various names such as tama-shizume no uta 鎮魂歌 'requiem', 'soothing the soul', kagura 神楽 'divine music' and kamiasobi 神遊 'divine entertainment'. Festivals of this type were held mainly in the court and principal shrines.

Later a new interpretation of dance and music developed in society between the twelfth century and fifteenth century. In spite of the fact that the music and dance at religious festivals gained great popularity among the people of the time, the earlier spiritualistic element in them dwindled and finally lost its original significance. It became simply a form of entertainment. In fact the music and dance of contemporary Shintō and Buddhist festivals were performed after solemn religious rites and ceremonies. They were carried out in a more relaxed manner in order to entertain the people who had attended the ceremony. They were given as a form of variety show⁴; a mixture of song, dance, acrobatics, magic, recitation of poems including simple forms of drama called Sarugaku and

Dengaku out of which the Nō developed later. This variety show of medieval times was called ennen 延年 'prolonging life'.

As has been mentioned before, the earliest reference to spiritualistic literature may be traced in the kagura songs which are included in anthologies of Japanese poetry. The word kagura, derived from the word kamikura 神座 'the place of god', that is 'altar', meant songs and dances performed in front of the altar.⁵ The earliest known event of kagura dates from the reign of the emperor Sūjin 崇神 (reigned 93-30 B.C.). At that time, an epidemic prevailed throughout the country and took many lives. It seemed that nobody might survive. The emperor Sūjin arranged religious ceremonies to save the nation from the disaster. Songs and dances were performed at these ceremonies.⁶ Unfortunately no words of these songs are known today. It was not until the time of the emperor Ichijō 一條 (987-988) that kagura festivals took place regularly at the Imperial court and songs were arranged by the music department of the Imperial household. Various historical documents⁷ describe the detail of the liturgy which was held in the court of the Heian period. A favourable day in December was chosen for the ceremony. The ritual was carried out in the garden of the Imperial palace by six high-ranking court officials who were skilled in music and dance, six assistant musicians and six

attendants. The ceremony began in the evening, but just before this a garden fire was lighted. The emperor presented food and wine to the altar. Then a lady of the court rang a bell three times and the emperor sat down followed by the participants. Then the person in charge (ninjō 人長) 'chief man' stood and announced the opening of the ceremony. Musicians played instruments like the flute (wabue 和笛), harp (wagoto 和琴), flageolet (hichiriki 篳篥) in both solo and ensemble. Then a series of fairly short songs and dances followed until the morning cockcrow. The original significance of shōkon in these kagura songs was already obscure by this time. One sees vaguely some stylised form of shōkon in the first sequence of the kagura song, which is sung antiphonally by the leaders (motokata 本方) and followers (suekata 末方). The first song, which comes right after the ensemble of musical instruments, is called Achime 阿知女 and is regarded as a sort of spell. It consists of two short lines sung in the form of responses and repeated three times.

Leader. Achime Oh! Oh! Oh!

Follower. Achime Oh! Oh! Oh! 8

Some consider that the word Achime is a corruption of Uzume, who was the Ame-no-Uzume-no-Mikoto who danced in front of the Rock Dwelling Cave mentioned in the Kojiki; others that it referred to Atsumi-no-Isora who was a chieftain of a tribe in Kyūshū. The Taiheiki^{太平記} mentions an episode concerning

Atsumi-no-Isora as follows:" the empress Jingū(reigned 201-269) decided to conquer Shiragi and summoned an assembly. All the clan chiefs except Atsumi-no-Isora attended the meeting and offered their arms and soldiers. Then the empress planned the ritual of kagura to call the man who did not obey her order. She had her attendants prepare a bonfire, a twig of the sacred evergreen tree (sakaki 'cleyera Japonica') decorated with white and blue wands and repeatedly sing and dance merrily around the bonfire. Finally Atsumi-no-Isora turned up, being drawn by the gay music. His countenance was grotesque: it was not that of a human being. His body was covered with sea-weed; and large and small shells stuck to his arms and legs. Nobody could recognize that this was Atsumi-no-Isora himself. Isora explained that the long period spent dwelling among sea animals had caused this strange change. This was why he had hesitated to present himself at the assembly. But he could not resist the gay music and dance, which eventually drew him out of his hiding place. He had gone down to the palace beneath the sea as the envoy of the empress and brought back two jewels which he presented to the emperess."

The word 'Achime' is regarded as the call for Atsumi and 'Oh! Oh! Oh!' as his shout of response.

The ceremonial song called tamashizume-no-uta 'requiem' has the same first line as the Achime song at the beginning of each stanza. This was sung to the accompaniment of wagon and

Wabue, at the requiem ceremony held in the imperial court since the early Heian period. Some stanzas of this song show the trace of the shōkon ceremony of early times. They go as follows:

I

Achime, Oh! Oh! Oh!
Heaven and earth
Purifying and cleansing
God and me,
If the priest is pure,
I'll ask him to call the soul.

IV

Achime Oh! Oh! Oh!
I wish to see the spirit of goddess
 Toyo-Oka IO in heaven.
The highest golden halberd II
The lowest wooden halberd.

VII

Achime, Oh! Oh! Oh!
Put the linen in the soul-box,^{I2}
Be ready to receive the soul,
The spirit of the god is coming,
Coming now.

VIII

Achime Oh! Oh! Oh!
The soul is coming.
Prepare the soul-box.
Catch the soul, and put it in.

Let it not go away. I3

Another example which shows shōkon being introduced into a form of folk art, can be seen in the procession of the Kasuga Wakamiya festival in Nara. The Shrine was founded in 768 A.D. by the Fujiwara family as a titular shrine. In 1122 a kagura hall was built in front of the Koyane Shrine one of four shrines in the group. In 1135 the Wakamiya 'young shrine' was erected and dedicated to the son of Koyane. In this shrine, in 1137, national prayers were offered for deliverance from bad crops and strange illnesses. Conditions improved, and in thankfulness the people sought to express their gratitude in an entertainment of thanksgiving in which each took part according to his ability. Unlike the festival of the main shrine, which was entirely secluded from the public, the Wakamiya festival was open to the people of the district and eventually it gained a great and wide popularity. The village people added their folk dances and music to this great occasion. The participants marched in a long procession to the courtyard on the day of the festival. The procession of these participants was spectacular. The parade consisted of twelve different groups each representing a different status. The order of the procession was arranged according to strict social distinctions.¹⁴ The group of musicians called Beijū 陪從 came sixth and represented the court dances (bugaku) 舞樂. A group

of miko followed the beijū and represented kagura. A group of six men on horseback followed the miko and performed a dance called seinō, 細男・才男. Sarugaku and Dengaku followed them. The precedence of seinō over Sarugaku and Dengaku suggests ¹⁵ that seinō has a longer history than the others and is sometimes taken to suggest that it was more respected by the public of the time.

The seinō was performed by four male dancers: all wore hoods and hid their faces. Each of them carried a small drum and played it while he was dancing. The dance was accompanied by two flutes. The performance had two dances separated by a short dialogue between the two characters. The song goes as follows.

The first dance:

The man who carries the bow-holder,
Take your drum and be ready.
The man who bears the sword,
Pick up your flute and be ready.
Beat the drum tum, tum, tum.
Blow the flute to a lovely tune.
I will twist my body to dance the seinō.
Blessed is this dance.
Blessed is this dance.
I will show this unique dance.
Nobody else can follow this step.
Don't show this dance to anyone.
Oh! Blessed this unique dance.
Oh! Blessed this unique dance.

I will not give this jewel to anyone.
Nobody except me can dance this seinō.
Who else can dance this seinō?
The dance of antiquity.
The dance of antiquity.
Oh! Blessed is this unique dance.
Oh! Blessed is this unique dance.
I will give it to nobody.

Goddess Toyo. Which deity is that?

Say your name.

I desire to know who you are.

Isora.

I am the chieftain of Shiga isle.

Azumi-no-Isora is my name.

Who is the deity that asks this question?

I desire to know your name too.

Tell me your name.

Goddess Toyo.

I am the goddess who sits beside the jewel in the underwater palace.

Toyo-hime is my name.

Isora.

Oh! pardon me for being so irreverent.

I had no idea that you were such a noble goddess.

I beg your pardon again.

I beseech you to accept this jewel of Mine as a gift from the sea.

The second dance.

A gem of ebb, a gem of flow.

Two precious stones protect the land of gold.

Blessed are two jewels.

Blessed are two jewels.

These two precious stones keep the nation in peace.

These two precious stones keep the reign prosperous.

Blessed are the magic jewels.

Blessed are the magic jewels.

I will not give these gems of ebb and flow
To anything except this golden land.^{I6}

There are two legendary stories combined in the content of the seinō dance; the myth of Toyotama-hime^{I7} and the legend of Azumi-no-Isora. The latter can be identified with the same Azumi in the requiem (tamashizume-no-uta) and kagura song mentioned above. The 'Who's who' of the early Heian period, Shinsen Shōji roku^{I8} 新撰姓氏錄 mentions Azumi as the descendant of the sea-god, Watatsumi Toyotamahiko, the chieftain of a sea-tribe in 270-310 A.D.. The Azumi clan was one of the eighteen influential clans from 680 to 696, and provided the hereditary priest of the Shiga Shrine 志賀神社 which worshipped the sea-god, Watatsumi Toyotamahiko. The Azumi clan was also in charge of the supply of sea-food to the Imperial household.

The Shiga shrine had been known for its rich stock of folk songs and dances.^{I9} The chronicle of Usa Hachiman Shrine²⁰ mentions the history of seinō dance which was also called Nara mai 奈良舞・奈良舞。

" At the time when the empress (Jingū) was leaving for a foreign country, an old man with white hair came to see her and introduced himself saying ' I am the dweller of Kashima beach; my name is Azumi-no-Isora. I should advise you to order me to go and get the gem of ebb and tide from the dragon-god of the sea. If you take these jewels with you, they will lead you to victory. The empress said to herself ' Should I accept this or not?'. The old man continu

ed saying 'This little boy here loves the seinō dance which is known as Nara mai. He would show you this dance'. The empress said, 'Who is going to play the music?' The old man said, 'The attendant will play the music and this old man and the little boy will dance'. It was indeed an exquisite performance. Then Toyohime, the sister of the empress, and her attendants went to the palace underwater. They soon came back with the jewel. Thus the empress was able to win the battle of Korea. These two gems were still kept in the shrine of Kawakami in Bizen [in Kyūshū]. The old man was the incarnation of the god of the Sumiyoshi Shrine and the little boy was the god of the Kashima Shrine."

The Eiga monogatari²¹ 栄花物語 'A tale of prosperity' written in the 11th century mentions the name seinō ; as meaning men dancing with their faces covered with scarves on the occasion of a religious festival, goryōe²² 浄霊会 which was held on the 23rd of January in 1025.

The seinō dance or Nara mai may have been one of the local folk dances of Kyūshū. It is likely to have been transferred to Nara when the Kasuga Shrine was erected in the city of Nara in the beginning of the eighth century, for this shrine in Nara was a branch of the Kashima Shrine in Kyūshū. The legendary chronicle²³ of the shrine mentions that the god of Kashima travelled through Kashima in Kyūshū to Kasuga in Nara riding on a deer and accompanied by two faithful attendants in the year 709 A.D.. As the Kojiki²⁴ mentions the first eastward movement of the emperor Jimmu 神武 (660-589 B.C.) and his adventures

through the isle of Kyūshū to the east of the main island (Honshū) including the district of Yamato which is Nara today, it is quite understandable that some tribes with a rich cultural legacy moved from the seaside districts of Kyūshū to the mountainous district of Nara and settled down there. This may be the reason why the seaside folk dance has been transported to a place where there is no sea. And yet, when the Wakamiya festival was established in the twelfth century, one of the folk dances called seinō was arranged as a distinguished form of entertainment. Apart from its historical background, one can not overlook an important point in seinō, namely the dialogue inserted between two parts of the songs and dance. The conversation between the two characters has no plot but merely enquires ' Who are you? '. The same construction based on this ' who are you? ' or ' to have desire to see ' is found in another type of popular entertainment, ennen, which was performed after religious ceremonies at temples such as the Tōdaiji, Yakushiji and Kōfukuji between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. The chronicle of the Tōdaiji²⁵ say of the ennen of the temple:

August 6th, the first year of Shōji 正治 (1199)

Ceremonies ended in the evening.

Ennen followed afterwards. The attendant were divided into two groups and all participated in the ennen. Children performed songs and dances. Adults played Sarugaku.

Similar descriptions of ennen held in 1242 and 1266 are kept in the temple. They show increased enthusiasm among the priests and parish people. The chronicle of the Kōfukuji²⁶ mentions the ardent zeal of the public for ennen; the temple planned not to have ennen during the reign of emperor Shirakawa (reigned 1073) but the parish people persuaded the temple authorities to carry on with ennen after the annual temple festival. Ennen was also performed in the eastern region of the country. The shōgun Minamoto Yoritomo saw it played by shirabyōshi in 1188.²⁷ It was also given at the Wakamiya Hachiman Shrine in Kamakura in 1213.²⁸ It was done by courtesans who performed dances usually given by small boys.

Ennen does not indicate any particular type of entertainment; it was a sort of variety show, a mixture of about twenty different types of entertainments including crude drama. They were played one after another with no coherence in the programme. The drama part of this ennen was divided into three different categories, namely dai-fūryū 大凡流 shō-fūryū 小凡流 and tsurane 連事 according to the size of the piece. Shō-fūryū and tsurane had almost fixed forms which suggests shōkon in the form of inquiry 'Who are you?' or 'desire to see'. This technique was mentioned as okotsuri in the texts. The word okotsuru 招釣 or 誘ル means literally 'to call for' or 'to fish'. The characters in each play, generally from two to eight persons, appear on the stage and explain their

desire to see some legendary personage whom it is impossible to meet in reality. They recite some passages from prayers or poems and give a short shirabyōshi dance. Then a supernatural character appears on the stage and performs spectacular dances. The piece called Shōzan Shikoku o tazuneru 寺商人四皓 ' Visiting Shikoku on Mt. Shōzan ' shows an example of the technique of okotsuri. It goes as follows:

Two male characters on the stage are suffering from the heat of summer; one suggests a visit to Mr. Shōzan, which is covered with snow, to meet the saint Shikoku. Then the other answers:

Character B. What did you say? How could it be possible! Shikoku is a saint who lived a long time ago! Nobody can see him now!

Character A. You are right. But they say that the spirit still exists. Let us pray for the spirit together.

Character B. That is a good idea.

Shall we summon him together?

(okotsuri together)

All. If there is the spirit of Shikoku in the mountain of Shōzan, let us see the sight of it.

(four persons without hats enter the stage)

Shikoku. I am the spirit of Shikoku. Why did you call me? 29

Besides these miscellaneous entertainment formed in ennen, there were groups of professional entertainers who played

Dengaku, 'field music', which was one time more prominent than Sarugaku. Originally Dengaku meant the songs and dances given by country people to relieve the drudgery of work in the fields at planting time and, by entertaining the gods of agriculture, to ensure their help in raising good crops. Later in the Kamakura period, this agricultural Dengaku developed into a drama called Dengaku Nō. The plays called Kikusui 菊水 "Chrysanthemum Water" and Jisei 二星 "The Two Stars" are two of the few Dengaku Nō texts which are preserved today. The same pattern of 'Who are you?' can be seen in the framework of these two plays. The play Jisei is based on the legend of the Star Festival which originated in an ancient Chinese legend. It is the story of two stars, Tanabata, the Weaving Maid, and her lover Hikoboshi, the Male Star or the Herdsman, who live one on each side of the Milky Way. They are allowed to meet only once a year, on the seventh day of the seventh moon. In the play, an imperial envoy goes up to the heaven and there sees the two stars:

Waki. I have come to an unknown river-beach, and
When I look at the scene about me, the
people I see here are a man leading an ox
and a woman reeling thread.

Who are you, now?

Tayū. Tanabata and Hiko-boshi are our names. ³⁰

The play Kikusui is based on the court festival of chōyō ³¹
新陽 on the ninth day of the ninth moon. The origin of the
festival came from the Chinese custom of a 'chrysanthemum
feast'. It was believed that if one rubbed the face with a

small pad of cotton wool which had been laid over a chrysanthemum on the eve of the festival, the cotton which absorbed dew drops would remove imperfections and ensure long life. The chrysanthemum is believed to be a symbol of longevity in both China and Japan. In the play, an imperial official comes across a hermit who was once a servant of the Emperor Boku of Shu, the fifth sovereign of the Chou dynasty, who succeeded to the Throne in 1001 B.C. and died in 946 B.C..

Waki. A hermit has just appeared. Where have you come from?

Tayū. I am on my way to the Palace of the Emperor to present him with a wondrous elixir.

Waki. Oh! happy tidings, happy news--- for hermits leaving their hills and wise men taking office are signs of a peaceful reign. What manner of person are you?

Waki. I was in Imperial service in the reign of the Emperor Boku of Shu and was known as Jidō. Seven hundred years have passed since then and I am now known as Hōsō. 32

When this technique of inquisition ' Who are you? ' was used in Zeami's spirit plays, it took a more intricate form and style. Generally the plot follows a relatively fixed pattern: the secondary character, the waki, visits some historical place and there he meets an ordinary village person, often a young woman. The traveller stops her and asks about the legend of the place. She tells the story willingly and, in the middle of the play, reveals that she is the ghost of the heroine in the story and vanishes from the stage. Later she

comes back to the stage dressed as the woman in the legend and dances the last part of the play, the climax. The play Matsura³³ by Zeami is an example of this. It was written in 1427 when he was sixty, and his original copy has been preserved by the Kanze school. It is a play about two travelling priests, who visit Matsura Bay in Kyūshū. This is famous for its beautiful landscape and well known for the legend of a court official and a miko about which poets wrote in the Manyōshū.³⁴

In the Nara period, a man called Satehiko was appointed as an ambassador to Korea. He stayed in Matsura Bay while he was waiting for his ship. Meantime he met a young miko and courtesan called Sayohime who adored him. When Satehiko's ship left the bay, she ran up the hill and waved her veil crying 'Come back to me!'. As soon as the ship disappeared beyond the horizon she collapsed in despair. Later she threw herself into the sea holding the mirror which the man had given her as a keepsake. While the two priests in the play are walking along the sea shore at Matsura, they see a village woman with a fishing rod in her hand, walking their way. They stop and speak to her:

Priest. Excuse us, fisher lady,
We are travelling priests from a far away part
of the country.
Is this the famous Matsura Bay?

Woman. That is right. This place has been well known

since olden times. The name has been spread beyond the mountains; the ocean and rivers carried its name all through the country. Do ask anything you wish.

Priest. What do you call the river here?

Woman. This is the river Maturagawa.

It was here that Sayohime threw herself
Into the sea holding the mirror in her arms.
Her spirit still remains, dwelling in
The Mirror Shrine down there.
Go and pray for her, if you please.

.

Priest. The mountain over there covered with snow.
Is that Mt. Matsura?

Woman. That is Mt. Matsura,
Written as Reikinzan 領巾山 ' mountain of the veil ',
But read as Hirefuru-yama 領巾振山 ' the veil-waving
mountain '

Priest. Truly we understand the story of Reikinzan.
Then what is this mirror?
Is there any story behind it?

Woman. Indeed. This is the mirror which Satehiko left for
Sayohime, in his memory. He has become a god now; and
the mirror is the incarnation of the god.
Well, dear priests, I have a desire to enter Buddha's
gate to seek his teaching. Could I have your priestly
scarves?

Priest. I was thinking that you are not an ordinary village
woman since I first saw you.
We shall gladly give you our scarves.

Woman. I receive them, then.
I kneel down to pray.

Thankful to this teaching.

I shall show you now the mirror.

Wait here for a while.

Truly, I am the spirit of Sayohime herself. 35

After revealing that she herself is the spirit of Sayohime, the spirit disappears beyond the cloud behind the mountain in the moonlit night. The ai-kyōgen³⁶ follows and repeats the legend of Sayohime and Satehiko. At the beginning of the second half of the play, the spirit appears in the costume of the nobleman Satehiko and carries a mirror. She shows it to the priest who tries to look into it. Strangely, the mirror does not reflect his face but he sees there instead an image of the nobleman in full ceremonial dress. The spirit of Sayohime performs a dance during which she takes the mirror from the priest. She dances like a deranged woman, and finally she jumps into the sea and disappears among the white waves. When the priests awake the following morning they see nothing except the tranquil bay and hear only the sound of waves.

Like the oracle heard by the empress Jingū in which the third person, the saniwa, kept inquiring 'Who is the deity who did such and such?', it is the third character in the spirit play of Nō who asks this question to the mae-shite. Here are some examples of this inquiry:

Sotoba Komachi 'Komachi at the stupa'.

Komachi. I now emboldened
Recite a riddle, a jesting song.

"Were I in Heaven
The Stupa were an ill seat;
But here, in the world without,
What harm is done?"

Chorus. The priest would have rebuked her;
But they have found their match.

Priest. Who are you? Pray tell us the name you had,
and we will pray for you when you are dead.

Komachi. Shame covers me when I speak my name; but if
you will pray for me, I will try to tell you.
This is my name; write it down in your prayer-list:
I am the ruins of Komachi, daughter of
Ono no Yoshizane, Governor of the land of Dewa. 37

Atsumori

Priest. How strange it is! The other reapers have all
gone home, but you alone stay loitering here.
How is that?

Reaper. How is it you ask? I am seeking for a prayer
in the voice of the evening waves. Perhaps you
will pray the Ten Prayers for me?

Priest. I can easily pray the Ten Prayers for you, if you
will tell me who you are.

Reaper. To tell you the truth--- I am one of the family
of Lord Atsumori. 38

Thus the idea of the summoning of the spirits which had
existed since early times influenced greatly the form of
traditional arts and entertainments such as kagura and ennen.
Nō drama, which derived to a large extent from traditional
Shintō rites and Buddhist ceremonies, and from some of the
popular entertainments performed after the religious ceremonies
was no exception in this. It might be helpful to give a simple
chart which shows the development of Nō drama, so that one may

find a clue as to how and when supernatural element came into Nō drama. As is clear from the chart(see appendix 2 & 3), there was no trace of supernatural elements in a three-element framework in the development of Sarugaku Nō until the middle of the fourteenth century, the time of Kanami. The form was firmly established in the time of Zeami. Motomasa, however, has left no play in the three-element form. He tended to write non-spirit plays. Zenchiku who was rather younger than Zeami tended to follow his style. Kojirō, who was nine years old when Zeami died, tended to embellish the part of the waki. In the play Momijigari for example, the focus was put on waki Taira no Koremochi rather than the shite a woman in the first half and later a devil-woman. In the play Funabenkei, Benkei, who takes the part of the waki is the main role, not the shite (Shizuka in the first part and the ghost of Tomonori in the second.) The key point was Benkei persuading Shizuka to leave Yoshitsune in the first and conquering the ghost of Tomonori who disturbs their voyage in the second part. In the plays of Miyamasu, the touch of lyric drama which was familiar in the works of Kanami and Zeami was lost except in a few plays like Himuro and Urashima. His plays tended to be more realistic ones: the plot was not carried out in the three-element framework. Plays such as Genpuku Soga, Kurama tengu, Youchi Soga and Settai show no trace of supernatural element in their construction.

The general study of entertainment in the Heian and Kamakura periods enables one to see the earliest precedent existence of the spirit play in its crude form before the time of Kanami and Zeami. The earliest signs can be seen in the conversation between two characters in seinō; two equally important persons inquire each other's name, which is a basic element of the spirit play. This conversation is inserted between song and dance parts. There is evidence that seinō was performed in the Goryō-e festival in 1025 and in the Waka-miya Onmatsuri in 1349, which suggests that seinō was one of the prominent entertainments of the Heian and Kamakura periods. Although there has been no written evidence, it is obvious that Kanami and Zeami must have seen the seinō and been familiar with the content since their childhood.

The Ennen Nō which flourished between twelfth century and fourteenth century also had spirit plays. The play Shōzan Shikoku o tazuneru contains the basic element of the spirit play: the 'desire to visit a certain place to meet somebody' whom it is impossible to see in reality. There are three different opinions on the relation between Ennen Nō and Sarugaku Nō. Nose Asaji³⁹ claims the historical precedence of Sarugaku Nō to Ennen Nō. On the other hand, Takano Tatsuyuki⁴⁰ claims the opposite. Iura Yoshinobu⁴¹ takes a middle corner: they influenced each other mutually.

The priority of Dengaku Nō to Sarugaku Nō is what Zeami asserts in his Sanjūshiki.

admits in his treatise.⁴² The two examples^P of Kikusui and Jisei show the basic element of the spirit play ' Who are you? ' though there is no ' calling of a spirit ' as in the Ennen Shōzan Shikoku o tazuneru. And yet, the construction of these two plays is closer to the spirit play of Nō than any other previous examples: the plot is carried out by the main character (tayū) and the secondary character (waki).

Thus the spirit play was not the innovation of Kanami and Zeami in the fourteenth century; the pre-Nō drama of the eleventh and twelfth centuries had already the potentiality to develop into the spirit-play form. What is remarkable about Kanami and Zeami lies in the fact that they created and established the three-element^{and} framework of the spirit-play in the form of lyrical poetry in which plot does not develop gradually, but suddenly moves into the other world by means of the dramatic transfiguration of the mae-shite into the ghost. Nobody else is known to have used the three-element framework before the time of Kanami and Zeami.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

- I. 'Nōsakusho', TZN, I09-II2.
2. Philippi, Kojiki, I27.
Nakayama, Nihon miko shi, III.
3. Takano, NKS, I22-3.
4. Iura, NES, 492.
5. Nishitsunoi, KK, IO-I7.
6. Aston, Nihongi, I52.
The emperor performed the rituals of kamiasobi and divination by roasting a deer's shoulder-blades and observing the cracks thus caused. The oracle was in the form of question and answer: "What God is it who thus instructs me?" "I am the God who dwells within the borders of the land of Yamato, and my name is O-mono-nushi-no-kami"
7. Nishitsunoi, KK, 60-68.
Honda, Kagura, 283-294.
Takano, NKS, I43-I44.
8. Nishitsunoi, KK, 8I.
9. Taiheiki, vol.39. quoted in Iura, NES, 23I.
- IO. Cf. note 8 to Chapter I.
- II. A long stick with a pointed top used as a weapon and believed in early time to have magical qualities. Cf. Nihon kogo daijiten, II25.
- I2. A box in which two peices of linen cloth were laid.
Cf. Takano, NKS, I44.
- I3. Takano, NKS, I43.
- I4. Iura, NES, 228.
- I5. Ibid.

16. Iura, NES, 229-30.
17. See note 8 to Chapter I
18. Quoted Iura, NES, 235.
19. Ibid. 236.
20. Ibid. 231-2.
21. Quoted Iura, NES, 242-3.
22. The ritual of requiem held frequently in shrines in the Heian period. The idea followed the kagura ceremony in the court. The first record is of a ceremony at the Shinsen-en in Kyoto in 863 A.D..
23. Miyatake, Onmatsuri to Sarugaku, I.
24. Philippi, Kojiki, I63-I82.
25. Takano, NKS, 340.
26. Ibid. 337.
27. Azumakagami, qtd. Takano, NKS, 337.
28. Ibid.
29. Tōhō Bukkyō sōsho, vol.7. 427-8.
30. O'Neill, END, I8I.
31. In the Heian period this became one of five important festivals at court. It was a great feast carried out with music and dance.
32. The play is also known as Matsura kagami. Cf. Takano, NKS, 538.
33. Honda, The Manyōshū, 73-4.
34. Takano, NKS, 538-544.
35. See Chapter IV
36. Waley, The Nō plays of Japan, I55-I56.

- 37. Waley, The Nō plays of Japan, 67.
- 38. Iura, NES, 262-266.
- 39. Nose, NGK, 373-395.
- 40. Takano, NKS, 442.
- 41. Iura, NES, 522.
- 42. 'Sarugaku dangi' TZN, 270.

CHAPTER V

Nō Drama: its Literary, Social and Religious Background

Nō drama is a poetic drama. It is a blend of lyric, narrative and dialogue. It is the manifestation of the poetic sensibility which prevailed in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries in Japan. Zeami describes the primary elements in writing Nō in his treatise, 'Nōsakusho',^I 'On the composition of Nō'. In discussing the sources and structure of Nō, he emphasizes the point that the beauty of Nō depends entirely on songs and dances incorporated into the play. Therefore poetic characters should be chosen first and then the songs and dances in harmony with the poetic atmosphere of the play. In this sense, numerous anthologies of poems, classic literature, histories and various folk tales will provide a writer with ample stock characters. Zeami specifies models as follows:²

The tennyo 天女 'angel, heavenly being'

The miko 神女 'priestess' and the otome 乙女 'girl'

Poets and poetesses such as Narihira³, Kuronushi,⁴ Ise⁵ and Komachi⁶.

Prince Genji⁷ and Lady Aoi⁸.

The group of entertainers known as shirabyōshi. There are Giō⁹, Gijo¹⁰, Shizuka Gozen¹¹ and Hyakuman.¹²

The group of travelling priests known as hōkazō who wandered around playing musical instruments like minstrels in medieval Europe. Such characters are Jinen Koji¹³, Kagetsu¹⁴, Tōgan Koji¹⁵ and Seigan Koji.¹⁶

To build a structure is the second step for the writer when he has found the source and the character. The play should be built within the framework of three different parts, a beginning, middle and end, namely jo-ha-kyū 序破急, which can be interpreted as introduction, development and climax. A play generally consists of five sequences and the portion of jo-ha-kyū should be 1:3:1. The play Izutsu by Zeami, for example uses this sequence of five parts. It may be analysed in this way:

Jo (序)	1st section		The entrance of the <u>waki</u> , a travelling priest.
Ha (破)	2nd	"	The entrance of the <u>mae-shite</u> as the village woman.
	3rd	"	The conversation between the two characters.
	4th	"	The recitation of the two poems by the woman.
Kyū (急)	5th	"	Appearance of the village woman as the spirit of the wife of the poet, and her dance.

Between the third and the fourth sections in the ha part, two poems are inserted in the play. This is one of the rules which Zeami emphasizes in his treatises which goes as follows: ^{I7}

" The words of Nō should be chosen carefully according to the atmosphere which the characters create in a play. It is advisable to use phrases and lines taken from famous poems of auspicious, elegant, lyric and elegiac

nature. For example, if the play deals with a historical place, he should put well known lines or poems about that place in the main section of the ha part. This is the key in writing Nō. The well known phrases and good expressions should be used only for the shite part."

Zeami also tries to classify ¹⁸the songs of Nō into five categories comparing each song to five different types of trees: the auspicious song as an evergreen pine tree; the elegant song as cherry blossom in the spring or wild flower blooming in the field in autumn; the love lyric as the autumn maple; the elegy as the bare tree in winter; and lastly the song of majesty or dignity as an upright and tall cedar tree. Here I should show some examples, which show how basic poems were inserted in the text of play. In Izutsu, there are three poems taken from the Ise monogatari:

- 1) Oh, the well, the well!
I who scarce topped the well-frame
Am grown to manhood since we met. 19
- 2) The two strands of my hair
That once with yours I measured,
Have passed my shoulder;
Who but you should put them up? 20
- 3) The mountain of Tatsuta, that rises
Steep as a wave of the sea when the wind blows,
To-night my lord will be crossing all alone! 21

In the play Matsukaze, there are two poems by Lord Yukihiro who was the brother of Lord Narihira.

- 1) Through the traveller's dress
The autumn wind blows with sudden chill.
It is the shore-wind of Suma
Blowing through the pass. 22
- 2) If any should ask news,
Tell him that upon the shore of Suma
I drag the water-pails. 23

The last example will show how a single line of criticism taken from the Japanese preface of Kokinshū (905 A.D.) by Ki no Tsurayuki developed into a play called Shiga. The motif of the play is Tsurayuki's criticism ²⁴on the poem of Kuronushi: "The style of Ōtomo no Kuronushi is humble and crude; it is like a mountain woodcutter with faggots on his back resting under the shade of cherry blossom" In the play written by Zeami, the spirit of the poet Kuronushi appears on the stage as a woodcutter. He rests under a cherry tree with branches of the blossom added to his already heavy load of wood. Then a court official and his two retainers who came to Shiga to view the cherry blossom see the woodcutter.

waki (the court official)

How strange to see an old woodcutter
Resting under a cherry tree with branches
Of blossom on his heavy load of wood.
Is that because you understand the beauty of nature
Or simply because you found your load too heavy?

shite (the woodcutter)

I humbly hear your question.
An ancient poet wrote a line:
"Adding branches of blossom to your heavy load,
Is it not too heavy, mountain woodcutter?"
How could I find the answer now?

tsure (retainers)

There are many other trees here in the depths of the
Pine trees here and cypresses there. mountain:

Why do you rest regularly under the cherry tree?

Why do you rest particularly under the cherry tree?

shite It is a shame that you should ask whether my load
is too heavy.

shite
tsure Like the crude style of the poet Kuronushi, it is
Probably unsuitable for us humble woodcutters to
Rest under the cherry blossom. You must forgive us,
You, the noble men.

waki How surprising to hear them answer with the tongue
of an ancient poet: "Do not envy one above you, do
not despise one below you".

shite No, no I am too humble to possess a knowledge of
Classic poems, but I can understand

waki The feeling of the poet Kuronushi

shite and his poem.

waki They say that

shite it is Kuronushi

waki who, despite being

shite a humble and crude

waki woodcutter,

chorus sits under the cherry blossom. 25

The waka which were quoted in Nō drama are very numerous.
Their sources are found in more than twenty-four classical
anthologies of poems and various narrative prose and histories
of early time. The five main books which were taken into Nō
drama are as follows: 26

- 1) Kokinshū 古今集
- 2) Shin Kokinshū 新古今集
- 3) Shūishū 拾遺集
- 4) Ise monogatari 伊勢物語
- 5) Genji monogatari 源氏物語

Zeami often emphasizes the importance of learning classical poetry.²⁷ He was convinced that an ample knowledge of poetry was the key to success in writing a Nō piece and it will expand his repertoire as in early time the dramatist was an actor at the same time. This will lead him to victory on occasions of competitive performance between actors of different schools.

The knowledge of poetry which Zeami encouraged did not mean the writing of an original poem of one's own, but the choosing of some appropriate masterpieces from the classical anthologies to recreate the atmosphere of the poem on the stage in order to please the mind, eyes and ears of the spectators. In other words, Nō is the art of the visualization of the poetic atmosphere of classic literary works such as Genji monogatari and Heike monogatari. The lack of originality in Nō songs is due to the literary trend of the time. It coincides with the technique of writing poetry of the time known as honkadori meaning 'taking a basic poem'. This was the principle idea of the school of Fujiwara Teika (1162-1241) who was a leading poet and critic of the early thirteenth century.

In fact, the audience of the time did not demand originality in poems at all. What they wanted was to find a way to retreat into the past. Nō was a unique type of entertainment which pleased two opposing societies of the time: that is to say, the declining society of the nobilities and the rising society of the warriors. The former were impoverished but still leading the cultural life,²⁸ while the latter were regarded as men of rustic, crude, clumsy and unsophisticated manners. The warriors, however were eager to establish a cultural pattern of their own as they took over political leadership from the nobility.²⁹ In fact it was the society of the military which had the more vigorous and vital creative power of the era.

These two rival societies shared an ardent passion for the supreme glory of the Heian period (798-1185). The noble longed nostalgically for the cultural luxury and grandeur of the past. All they could do was to escape the misery of the present by clinging to the image of time gone by. Reckless spiritual yearning for the past was the predominant feeling of the noble of the time. Meanwhile the society of rising samurai had no cultural legacy of their own. They were straightforward warriors who had once guarded the land of the nobility in the provinces. They were anxious to establish their own cultural expressions equivalent to the bugaku court

dances and the mi-kagura³⁰ of the nobility. This aspiration for the past grandeur of court life reached its height when the shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu accepted the post of Chancellor (Dajō daijin) which had previously been kept as a hereditary post among the court nobles. He built for himself an imitation of the imperial palace, and the villa known as the Temple of the Golden Pavilion (Kinkakuji) where he devoted himself to various cultural activities such as poetry recitation, musical evenings and ball games which had once flourished at Court in the Heian period. He saw Kanami and Zeami playing Sarugaku at Imakumano in Kyoto in 1374. Being deeply impressed by the skill of their performance, he became the patron of the two players. Eventually Zeami grew up with an understanding of the aesthetic tastes and standards of the shōgun and his associate. 31

Historically, Japan in the early Muromachi period (1393-1459) was a time of despair and anguish. All over the country violence and war took place every day, the disaster of disease spread everywhere, earthquake, fire and famine caused fear among people and they became more and more superstitious. " The end of the Law ", an expression for the final stage in the development of Buddha's teaching, when it would become almost totally obscured in an age of ignorance and corruption, was more and more frequently heard.

The establishment of a military government in medieval

Japan meant a greater participation by the warriors who had once guarded the lands of the nobles in the provinces. In religion, the new cult of Amida and the Lotus Sutra opened a new scope for the old form of Buddhism which had rather an elite following in the Heian period. In fact the esoteric and exoteric doctrines of the Tendai and Shingon sects in the Heian period left thousands of people untouched by the teaching of Buddha. Those evangelical preachers such as Ippen, Shinran and Nichiren spread Amidism and the Lotus Sutra throughout the country by means of song and dance. The new religion brought two far-reaching changes: a hope for salvation or 'rebirth' by practicing Nenbutsu, and the recognizing of woman's right to equal opportunities for salvation along with men.

According to the doctrine of the old Buddhism, salvation was regarded as not an easy matter: one had to pass thousands of years in one of the eight parts³² of the underworld to reach the Pure Land. On the other hand, medieval Buddhism emphasized that all who called on the name Buddha by saying 'Namu Amida Butsu' could win eternal bliss. This practice of Nenbutsu was believed the best means of all for bringing the soul to rebirth in the Pure Land. One of the popular psalms of Kūya (903-972) shows this simple idea of rebirth in the Pure Land;

He never fails
To reach the Lotus Land of Bliss
Who calls,
If only once,
The name of Amida.

A far, far distant land
Is Paradise,
I've heard them say;
But those who want to go
Can reach there in a day. 33

The Nō drama of medieval times was established and achieved its particular form under these circumstances. The principle on which most the plays were based was to call the spirit who is suffering in one of eight parts of the Buddhist Hell to the stage by means of shōkon and then to recite Nenbutsu so that the soul can achieve rebirth in ' the Pure Land '. It was a combination of shōkon, which originated in the early indigenous Shintō cult and the practice of Nenbutsu which was characteristic of medieval Buddhist doctrine.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. 'Nōsakusho' TZN, I09-I25.
2. Ibid. I09.
3. One of the thirty-six greatest poets of the Heian period who was born 826 A.D. and died in 881. He was the fifth son of the prince Aho and princess Ito and about eighty-seven poems of his were included in imperial anthologies of poems and ten in private ones. His poems were criticized by Ki no Tsurayuki, who said 'Ariwara no Narihira is too full of thoughts and lacks expressions; he is like a withered flower whose colour is gone, but whose scent still remains'.
4. One of ^{the} six greatest poets of the Heian period; a native of Omi ~~郡~~ modern Shiga Prefecture. He lived sometime between 859-922 A.D. and is believed to have been a priest of the local shrine. About ten of his poems were included in the imperial anthologies. His style was criticized by Ki no Tsurayuki; 'Ōtomo no Kuronushi is high-minded, but looks mean; he is so to speak, a mountaineer with faggots on his back resting under the shade of blossoms'.
5. One of the thirty-six greatest poets of the Heian period, who lived sometime between 889-940 A.D.. She spent the most of her life in service at Court. The author of the poems in the Ise-shū. She is also sometime regarded as the author of Ise monogatari.
6. One of the thirty-six greatest poets of the Heian period. She lived sometime between 834-876 and was regarded as one of the most beautiful women of the time. About sixty-two of her poems were included in the imperial anthologies and five in private ones. She was made the heroine of as least four Nō plays:

Sōshi arai Komachi 'Komachi and The Forged Entry'
Kayoi Komachi 'Komachi and The Suitor'
Sekidera Komachi 'Komachi at the Sekidera Temple'
Sotoba Komachi 'Komachi at the Stupa'

7. The hero of the Genji monogatari and the Nō play Suma Genji.
8. One of the heroines in the Genji monogatari, who was the wife of the prince Genji.
9. A courtesan who won the favour of Taira no Kiyomori. She was one of the heroines of the Heike monogatari, and the main character in the Nō play Giō.
10. A courtesan and one of the heroines of the Heike monogatari.
11. A courtesan who became the mistress of Minamoto no Yoshitsune. The heroine of the Nō play Futari Shizuka.
12. A courtesan who went on a pilgrimage in search of her missing child after the death of her husband. The heroine of the Nō play Hyakuman, formerly Saga monogurui.
13. The hero of the play Jinen Koji, who travelled around the country spreading the teaching of the Buddha by means of singing and dancing.
14. The hero of the play Kagetsu, who was a young boy. He was kidnapped when he was seven years old and his father became a hōkazō who travelled around the country in search of his missing child. They found each other at the religious festival of the Seisuiji.
15. The hero of the play Tōgan Koji, who was the disciple of Jinen Koji.
16. A priest of the Mibudera temple in Kyoto. The hero of the Nō play Seigan Koji.

- I7. 'Nōsakusho' TZN, III-II2.
- I8. 'Go-ongyoku jōjō' TZN, I89.
- I9. Waley, The Nō Plays of Japan, 26I.
20. Ibid.
- 2I. Ibid. 262.
22. Ibid. 268.
23. Ibid.
24. Wakameda, Early Japanese Poets, 9.
25. Shiga (Kuronushi or Shiga Kuronushi) Yōkyoku sōsho
vol. 2. I00-4.
26. Minegishi, 'Yōkyoku to waka' Nōgaku zensho vol.3.2I0.
27. 'Fūshikaden' TZN, I & 23.
28. Bugaku, for example was still enjoyed only by the society
of the nobility: the court tried to forbid the Muromachi
military government to arrange Bugaku parties. Cf. NES, I69.
29. Cf. Tsuji Zennosuke, Nihon bunka-shi vol.IV.I08.
30. Kagura played at imperial religious ceremonies are known
as mikagura 'honorable kagura', while kagura of the people
is called satokagura 'village kagura'. Cf. Honda, Kagura, 3.
- 3I. O'Neill, END, 29.
32. Hell;

I	The hell of repeated misery
2	" black chains
3	" mass suffering
4	" wailing
5	" great wailing
6	" searing heat
7	" great searing heat
8	" incessant suffering

Cf. 'Amida and the Pure Land' Sources of the Japanese Tradition, I99.
33. Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

Spirit-Play of Nō

In the world of creative writing, there seem to be two different ways of writers seeing the other supernatural world; one direct in which the writer himself goes into the other world or sees the ghost in this world without the device of medium and the other indirect in which the writer has someone to call the spirit to come to this world. The dream vision is a standard device of the first type of writing. In fact, this was a fashionable technique of medieval English poetry. The contemporary elegiac poem "Pearl"^I, for example, shows the rarest kind of mystical experience of its poet.

A father, the poet himself, is never free from the sadness of the death of his infant daughter, who died at age of two. He wanders around the garden where his daughter, as precious as a pearl, is buried. He sits beside the grave in deep grief. There he swoons, and in his dream he is transferred into a marvellous world of Paradise and sees his daughter grown up as a beautiful queen of the Christian kingdom in heaven. The poem "Piers Plowman"² by William Langland is another example of a man who saw a vision. Piers Plowman went to sleep on the Malvern hills and there he had a wonderful dream of an abstract world: a conflict between Christianity and its enemies. Then too, Dante entered the

forest and saw a vision in which he met Virgil who took Dante around Inferno, Purgatorio and Paradiso where he met his friends, enemies and Beatrice. He describes himself:

In the middle of the Journey of our life. I myself in a dark wood the straight way was lost.

Ah! how hard a thing it is to tell what a wild and rough, and stubborn wood this was, which in my thought renews the fear!

.

I cannot rightly tell how I entered it, so full of sleep was I about the moment that I left the true way. 3

The device of vision takes another direct form. That is apparitions. Unlike the previous three examples in which poets went into the other world, in this case ghosts visit the present world. The ghost of Claudius, in Shakespeare's Hamlet, for example, was seen by his son and officers. Hamlet learns from this ghost of the king of Denmark that the king was murdered by his brother.

The ghost of Banquo in Macbeth⁴ was seen only by Macbeth. Seeing the apparition of the blood-stained Banquo sitting in Macbeth's place at the banquet table among the other guests, he is utterly scared and loses control.

Meanwhile, the indirect way of communication between the two worlds is done through the device of medium. There is always a third person, even sometimes a fourth person, who

acts as a medium. The play Macbeth again provides us with an example of this kind. The apparitions of the victims of Macbeth's bloody plot, appear on the stage one after another at the summoning of witches dancing around a boiling cauldron in a cavern. Shakespeare describes the summoning of the spirit as ' a deed without a name ', which goes as follows:

.

Sec. Witch. By the pricking of my thumbs,
Something wicked this way comes.
Open, locks,
Whoever knocks.

Enter Macbeth.

Mac. How now, you secret, black, and midnight hags!
What is't you do?

All. A deed without a name.

Mac. I conjure you, by that which you profess, ---
Howe'er you come to know it, - answer me:
Though you untie the winds and let them fight
Against the churches; though the yesty waves
Confound and swallow navigation up;
Though bladed corn be lodg'd and trees blown
down;
Though castles topple on their warders' heads;
Though palaces and pyramids do slope
Their heads to their foundations; though the
treasure
Of Nature's germens tumble all together,
Even till destruction sicken; answer me
To what I ask you.

First Witch.
Sec. Witch.
Third Witch.

Speak.

Demand.

We'll answer.

First Witch. Say if thou'dst rather hear it from our mouth,
Or from our masters'?

Mac.

Call 'em let me see'em.

First Witch. Pour in sow's blood, that hath eaten
Her nine farrow; grease, that's sweaten
From the murderer's gibbet throw
Into the flame.

All.

Come, high or low;
Thyself and office deftly show. 5

The summoning of the spirit, the indirect way of communication between the two worlds, is a standard form of the spirit-play in Nō drama. A spirit-play consists of three-element framework; spirit, medium and subsidiary medium. A plot in a spirit-play follows the pattern of shōkon, particularly the ritual of the empress Jingū when she heard the oracle (see Chapter III). The spirits of the divine or those who were once heroes or heroines in history or classic literary works, appear through the device of primary and secondary mediums.

Technically the parts of the first medium and the spirit in a play are the most important roles. These two characters are always acted by one actor. The actor plays the part of a medium first (or the mae-shite) and later turns into a ghost (the nochi-shite). The process of change is done either on the stage or at the back of the stage.

The saniwa, who is the interlocutor is in Nō called waki, which means 'side'. In this manner, a plot in a spirit-play is constructed within a three-element framework of interlocutor, medium and spirit (waki, mae-shite and

nochi-shite). Besides these principal characters, many plays have minor parts called tsure ' companion ', who is a subsidiary associate of either the shite or the waki. The ai-kyōgen, 'interval kyōgen' is performed by kyōgen comedians while the mae-shite changes his costume in a two-act Nō. This is done as a monologue, or occasionally as a dialogue, which summarizes the story in colloquial language, in strong contrast to the Nō play proper, the main parts of which are written in verse.

An attempt to analyse several different type of plays here would make the points about the structure of spirit-play more comprehensible. The first example is the play called Yumi Yahata written by Zeami. It clearly show the stage function of the three main characters acting shōkon.

Persons in the play

<u>Mae-shite</u>	. . . . .	an old man
<u>Nochi-shite</u>	. . . . .	the god Kawa _u -no-kami
<u>Waki</u>	. . . . .	a court official
<u>Waki-tsure</u>	. . . . .	two retainers
<u>Tsure</u>	. . . . .	a man
<u>Ai-kyōgen</u>	. . . . .	a local person

A court official and his two attendants climb up Mt. Yahata to visit the shrine during the festival in the month of February. He notices an old man among the crowds in the courtyard, carrying a silk brocade-bag with an arrow in it.

The court official asks this old man who he is. He answers that he has been the servant of the shrine for many years, and that the arrow he is carrying is to be dedicated to the court official himself. He also tells the legend of the oracle which the empress Jingū received from the god of this shrine. Later he reappears on the stage dressed in divine costume and dances.

The nochi-shite, the spirit of the Kawara-no-Kami, reveals himself through the mae-shite, an old man who is the servant of the shrine. The court official, the waki, acts like a saniwa: (1) he inquires who the old man is, (2) he asks himself whether the vision is his imagination or the sign of the divine oracle, (3) when he realizes that this is an oracle he asks the derivation of the mulberry arrow.⁶

The next example is the play called Matsukaze, written by Kanami and adapted by his son Zeami. It has a more complicated plot than the previous example.

Persons in the play

<u>Mae-shite</u>	. . . . .	a fisher girl
<u>Nochi-shite</u>	. . . . .	the ghost of Matsukaze
<u>Tsure</u>	. . . . .	a fisher girl, later the ghost of Murasame
<u>Waki</u>	. . . . .	a travelling priest
<u>Ai-kyōgen</u>	. . . . .	a local person

A travelling priest comes to Suma Bay, famous for its beautiful sea-shore outlined by a pine forest. He stops to

look at one particularly. A local person who sees the priest admiring the tree, explains the legend of the two fishergirls Matsukaze and Murasame who loved the poet Yukihiro when he was exiled in this village. The pine tree is growing on the spot where the two girls are buried. The priest stands still and prays for the souls of the two fishergirls. At dusk he begs shelter from two girls who appear carrying brine to fill the salt-pans. At first they refuse, saying their house is too humble to offer any comfort to a traveller. But ⁱⁿ the end, they let the priest stay. He tells them that he has seen the grave of the two girls at the sea-side, and murmurs a few lines from a poem by Yukihiro. When the two girls hear the priest muttering the poem and a sutra for the two souls, they weep for sorrow and reveal that they are the spirits of Matsukaze and Murasame. They tell the priest how happy and lovely was the time with Yukihiro. Matsukaze, who is particularly affected by the memory, puts on the poet's cap and robe and dances passionately in a trance. At dawn, the priest awakes; there is nothing to be heard but the murmur of the wind in the pine forest.

Here again the construction of this play shows distinctively the art of ^{shōkon} tamaogi in its pattern of three - element^s; the two fishergirls as mediums of the spirits of the two deceased, and the travelling priest as the interlocutor, saniwa. Technically it is clear that the priest and the two girls are no more than devices to evoke the souls

of two female characters before the audience.

In the play Atsumori, however one may notice that the waki is personally more involved with the plot than the waki of the Yumi Yahata and Matsukaze. He is to set the scene and introduce the main character; at the same time he has to act the role of the monk who was once the murderer of the shite. In the play Fujito written by Zeami, the shite plays two different characters, a mother and her son, who appears only as apparition.

The transfiguration of the shite from the living to the spirit of the dead gives a remarkable effect to the play. This double process of mae-shite and nochi-shite creates a sort of mystic distance and magnitude between the spectator and the spirit. And yet these two roles are not incoherent at all: for example the mae-shite in Atsumori is a mower and the nochi-shite is the spirit of the young prince, and the grass pipe of the former indicates the famous flute Saeda,⁷ of the latter.

The transfiguration of the shite in the play such as Aya no tsuzumi 'The damask drum' and Dōjōji, is different from any of the previous examples. It takes the form of metamorphosis. The plot of Aya no tsuzumi is based on a ~~de~~ legend of the seventh century.

Persons in the play

the burning chariot: a fearful demon beating the flesh and bone of the wicked woman who faintly repeats the words 'doesn't sound'. The similar beating action in two different scenes, that of an old man desperately striking the damask drum in the first part and of an angry dragon beating a woman with a rod of torture in the last part, makes an overwhelming dramatic impression on the spectator.

The function of the waki who is the interlocutor is varied according to the type of play.

The waki of plays such as Yumi Yahata and Matsukaze are the mere device to set the plot: they introduce the mae-shite in the first part of the play and seem to have nothing to do with the development of the plot in the second part of the play.

The waki of the plays Atsumori and Fujito are more involved in the development of the plot; both Kumagai Naozane and Sasaki no Moritsuna are the murderers of the shite. They are to introduce the mae-shite and at the same time to develop the plot.

The waki in the play such as Momijigari and Funa Benkei seem to be more important than the shite in these two plays. The focus was put on Taira no Koremochi and Musashibō Benkei who both evoked the spirits of evil or someone who were related to the story on the stage in the first part and in the second part the waki conquered them either by a sword or the power of

prayer.

The transfiguration of mae-shite into nochi-shite may be seen also in three different types.

The shite in the play Yumi Yahata and Matsukaze take the ordinary pattern of change which goes as follows:

play	<u>mae-shite</u>	<u>nochi-shite</u>
<u>Yumi Yahata</u>	an old man	the god of Kawara-no-kami
<u>Matsukaze</u>	a fisher girl	the ghost of Matsukaze

The shite in the play Fujito and Funabenkei are more complicated than the previous examples: the mae-shite seem to be more independent characters rather than a mere device to evoke the spirits in the second part.

play	<u>mae-shite</u>	<u>nochi-shite</u>
<u>Fujito</u>	a mother	the ghost of the murdered son of the woman
<u>Funa Benkei</u>	Shizuka	the ghost of Taira no Tomonori

The play Kiyotsune by Zeami shows an exceptional transfiguration of shite: a thing kept in remembrance evokes the spirit of someone. It is played by the following characters:

Waki Awazu no Saburō
Shite Taira no Kiyotsune (ghost)
Tsure The wife of Kiyotsune

The first part of the plot is carried out without the mae-shite, in the second part the ghost of Kiyotsune appears to his wife who grieves over her husband's untimely death. The lack of mae-shite as medium in this play seems not to fit the general characteristics of the spirit play which is the three-element framework. The waki, however, who was the retainer of Kiyotsune returns to the capital with a lock of Kiyotsune's hair which he left as a memento for his wife. The presentation of this keepsake in the first part of the play fills the part of mae-shite.

The shite in the plays Aya no tsuzumi and Dōjōji do not take the pattern of evocation, but a form of change by natural development.

In the play Dōjōji, a young girl as mae-shite turns into a serpent-like spirit. The transfiguration is carried out inside the fallen bell standing on the stage. Actually the process is invisible to the spectator. When the bell is lifted up gradually, the audiences see the young girl who disappeared underneath the bell transfigured into a serpent with a woman-devil mask (hannya), a silk costume with scaly patterns (uroko-haku) and holding a devil stick (uchi-zue).

In the play Aya no tsuzumi, mae-shite is an old gardener, who is not the medium like an old man in Yumi Yahata. And

yet, the ghost of the gardener appears on the stage directly without the device of medium in the second part of the play. In this sense, this may be regarded as a unique case in which the ghost takes the active way unlike many other spirit plays in Nō drama.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

- I. Brian Stone (translated & ed.)
Medieval English Verse, Penguin Classics I43-I74.
- m2. The Cambridge History of English Literature,
vol. II I-41.
3. Israel Gollancz(ed.)
The Inferno of Dante Alighieri, 3.
4. Shakespeare's 'Macbeth' Act III Scene IV.
5. Ibid. Act IV Scene I.
6. The mulberry arrow and bow were regarded as the
symbols of the prosperous and peaceful state of the
nation. Cf. Yōkyoku sōsho, vol.III. 528.
7. The name of the flute which belonged to Atsumori
whose skill in playing the flute was well known. He
was still carrying it in the pocket of his armour when
he was killed by Kumagai Naozane at the battle of Suma
beach. The flute was made of Chinese bamboo, and has
been consecrated by a Tendai Buddhist monk of high rank.
It was famous for its divine tune and sound. Cf.
Yōkyoku sōsho, vol.I 78-9.

CHAPTER VII

A Supernatural Character in the Nō play Hagoromo.

The play Hagoromo 'A Feather Robe' was written by Zeami. It is not a spirit play: unlike the main character in a spirit play, the shite in Hagoromo does not take two roles. The shite in this play, however belongs to the supernatural in that she is a woman from heaven (tennin). It is a simple story of a fisherman and a nymph. Although the subject of the play is not of sublime significance for us as a drama, it reveals an extremely interesting aspect from the social anthropological viewpoint. This is that an angel taught a mortal of Suruga province a dance of Heaven as a 'dance of remembrance to the world'.

Before proceeding to further discussion a summary of the play should be introduced:

Early one morning in spring, a fisherman came back from fishing and landed on the seashore. He saw through the mist a beautiful robe hanging on a nearby pine. He approached the tree and was about to take the exquisite garment away with him, but as he hurried home, he heard a voice behind him. A lovely woman was running after him, claiming that the mantle was hers and belonged only to the immortal. It was an angel's robe of feathers without which she was not able to fly back to Heaven. She begged the fisherman to give the robe back to her. At first he was reluctant but finally he agreed to

do so if she would dance for him. So she performed a dance of Heaven and disappeared up to Heaven among the haze and clouds. This dance is known as Suruga-mai within the more general Azuma asobi, that is 'dance of Suruga district which belongs to the entertainments of the East'.

The dance is described in the text as follows:

Angel. The heavenly lady puts on her garments,
She dances the dance of the Rainbow Skirt, of
the
Robe of Feathers.

Hakuryō. The sky-robe flutters; it yields to the
winds.

Angel. Sleeve like a flower wet with rain. . .

Hakuryō. The first dance is over.

Angel. Shall I dance?

Chorus. The dance of Suruga, with music of the East?
Thus was it first danced. I

This legendary origin of Suruga-mai was described in the important dance treatise of the Heian period known as Zoku Kyōkunshō² 續教訓抄 In the time of the emperor Ankan 安閑 (reigned 531-535 A.D.), a woman of Heaven flew down to the beach of Udo³ and there taught this dance to the local people.

Regardless of the truth of the legend, the dance certainly gained great popularity in the Heian period. Sei Shōnagon in her Pillow Book⁴ ranked Suruga-mai and Azuma asobi as the most fashionable dances of the time.

The dance of Suruga which Sei Shōnagon mentioned, was

obviously the dance arranged as one of the Bugaku dances. In fact, it was about 920 A.D. when a nobleman of the court Ichijō Masanobu ^(一條雅信) adapted and arranged Azuma asobi in the repertoire of Bugaku dance.⁵ They were highly stylized masculine dances which consisted of different songs. Each song was sung in solo to the accompaniment of harp, flute and flageolet. The first two songs had no dance but the last three were danced by six male dancers: they all carried swords and wore hats decorated with a bouquet of cherry blossoms on top. The dance were performed at official religious ceremonies and also private banquets and horse racing.

Actually the song going with the dance formed part of the early Japanese folk songs, most of which were songs sung at merry-making parties by the people of antiquity. This custom was known as kagai 歌垣 meaning 'a fence of poems'. The local history Hitachi Fudoki 常陸風土記 (compiled in 708-714) describes this traditional custom in the following words: "men and women of all the eastern regions had a party up in the mountain twice a year, at cherry blossom time in spring and harvest time in autumn. They had meals outdoors, the men exchanged poems with the women, and all spent the whole time in singing, dancing and making merry."⁶

Several poems in the Manyōshū describe vividly the scene at picnics of this type.

On a poetry party upon Mt. Tsukuba

No. I759. Washino sumu Tsukuba no yamano mohakitsuno
Sono tsuno ueni atomoite otome otoko no yukitsudoi
Kagau kagaini hitotsuma ni aremo ahamu agatsumani
Hitomo kototohe konoyamao ushihakukamino inishiheyo
Isamenu wazazo kyonomiha megushimonamiso
Kotomo togamuna

Upon the eagle-dwelling Mt. Tsukuba
Young girls and men assemble at a poetry party.
For the evening they are free.
Now men can lie with others's wives.
What the mountain godhead wills,
We must obey. 7

No. I760. Ono kamini kumotachinobori
Shigurehuri
Nuretōrutomo
Arekaherameya

Even though clouds come
and showers drench my sleeve,
this poetry party.
I will not leave. 8

No. 3409 Ikahoro ni amagumo itsugi
kanumazuku hitoto otabau
Iza neshimetora

Yonder mountain mingles with the clouds.
Likewise, my love, shall we not lie together? 9

The local history of a province in Kyūshū, Bizen Fudoki
肥前府志 (compiled in 926 A.D.) also describes the custom of
kagai and shows that it was exactly the same kind of spring
and autumn celebration as that formed in Hitachi.

This ancient merry-making picnic was in fact practiced
throughout Japan, being known to have taken place in, for
example Kyūshū, Hyōgo, Nara and Hitachi.

A further study of a dance in early Japan, the folk
dances of Yamato (Yamato-mai) 倭舞 reveals another aspect
of an old custom. If Azuma asobi means the dances of the
eastern region, Yamato-mai means the dances of the western
region of Japan in early times. They are graceful and
feminine dances in contrast to the manliness of Azuma asobi.
The first appearance of the name in written documents was
in 804 A.D.^{II}: a chronicle of the Imperial Shrine states
that Yamato-mai were performed with Kaguramai. Later the
dances were performed yearly at the religious ceremonies of
shrines such as Kasuga, Ōharano, Sonokarakami and the
requiem festival of the Court.

The oldest song of Yamatomai is based on a poem which is
included in the Kokinshū:

Shimoto yū

Katsuragiyama ni Furu yuki no

Ma naku toki naku

Omō yurukana

I always think nostalgically

of snow falling upon Mt. Katsuragi.

It was danced to the accompaniment of koto and flute. Later new instruments were added and songs were altered.¹² As given, the poem shows itself to be not exactly the song used in Yamato mai. It is the poem about one's nostalgia for Mount Katsuragi where Yamato mai were performed during the festival on a snowy day. From this poem one can easily guess that Yamato mai, like the dance of Azuma asobi, did not originate in the court but elsewhere. The chronicle Gishiki¹³ 儀式 gives interesting information about the background of this dance, which was performed by Imperial guards dressed like yamabito 'mountain people' on the occasion of the Hirano Shrine festival. The description goes as follows:

" The prince and all participants take their seats. The mountain people arrive and knock at the east gate. Led by a koto player the ladies of the household prepare drinks and food on an octopod table and receive the mountain people inside the gate(the koto player faces towards the south, the ladies of the household towards the east). Twenty mountain people, acted by twenty guards chosen from the Right and the Left Divisions, enter the garden carrying branches of sakaki(*clevera japonica*) and stand in front of the table facing towards the west. They recite auspicious words. Then four ladies of the household step forward, accept the sakaki branches and return to their seats. Koto music and songs follow: four ladies of the household stand facing towards the east and dance. After the dance they serve food and drink to the mountain people. The musician and ladies of the household

take their seats. The mountain people stand in two groups, pile the firewood(takigi) in the middle of the garden and then leave.

.
Kagura follows. The mountain people from both groups stand up and dance Yamato mai. Two priests dance together".

The ritual of the mountaine people in the Hirano Shrine festival may then be summarized as :

- I) dedication of sakaki branches
- 2) recitation of auspicious words
- 3) dedication of firewood in the garden
- 4) performance of Yamato mai

As the Gishiki mentions, at the time when this chronicle was written no real mountain people took part in the ceremony. It was the Imperial guards who took their place. A song in the anthology of poems Ryōjin Hishō Kudenshū 梁塵抄 vol. II describes a situation in which a woman decorates her hair like a mountain person.

Wagimoko ga Anashi no Yama no
Yamabito to Dare mo mirubeku
Yamakazura seri. I4

My love put sprays of leaves & ivy in her hair,
so that everyone would take her
for a mountain person.

Here is another example of similar poem indicating someone

in the disguise of a mountain person in the Kokinshū
(poems for Sacred Music (torimono) songs):

Makimoku no Anashi no yama no

Yamabito to

Hito mo ^{mirugani} ~~shirubeku~~

Yamakazura seyo. I5

Put twigs and twines of mountain ivy
in your hair
so that people will take you
for one of the mountain people of Anashi.

Unfortunately there is no written record of this mountain
people. One can only guess from some literary works
preserved till today. There are two poems in Manyōshū
which mention the name of yamabito 'mountain people'.

Ashihikino yamayukishikaba yamabito no
ware ni eshimeshi

Yamazuto zo kore. I6

This is a song

A mountain person wrote for us
among the hills remote.

Emperor Genshō.

Ashihikino yama ni yukikemu yamabito no
Nasake mo shirazu yamabito ya dare?
Toneri Shinnō I7

Are you sure that
You yourself are not one of
These mountain persons?
Prince Toneri

In fact, the yamabito belonged to clans which, in very early times, were as powerful as the Imperial family. An episode in ^{the} Kojiki describes an encounter of the emperor (雄略) Yūryaku (456-479) with the yamabito.

On another occasion, when the emperor was ascending Mount KADURAKI, all of his many attendants were dressed in dyed blue garments to which red cords were attached.

At the time people who were exactly like the emperor's entourage were climbing the mountain from the opposite side.

Both the appearance of their garments and the people themselves were so much alike as to be indistinguishable.

Then the emperor, seeing this, inquired, saying:

"There is no other king in this land of YAMATO. Who is this who comes in this manner?"

The style of the reply was also the same ^{as} the emperor's own words.

At this time, the emperor was greatly enraged and fixed his arrow. His many attendants also all fixed their arrows.

Then the other people also fixed their arrows.

Hereupon the emperor again inquired, saying:

"In that case, say your names. We will all say our names and then shoot our arrows."

This time, the reply was:

"Since I have been asked first, I will say my name first good fortune with one word, bad fortune with one word, the word-deciding deity PITO-KOTO-NUSHI-NO-OPO-KAMI of KADURAKI am I!"

At this, the emperor was afraid and said:

"I am struk with awe, O my great deity! I did not know that you had a corporeal form."

Thus saying, beginning with his own great sword and bow and arrow, he had his many attendants take off the garments

they were wearing and reverentially presented them.

Then this PITO-KOTO-NUSHI-NO-OPO-KAMI, clapping his hands, accepted these offerings.

Thus, on the emperor's return, from the mountain top to the entrance of Mount PATSUSE, this great deity escorted him back.

It was at this time that this PITO-KOTO-NUSHI-NO-OPO-KAMI was (first) revealed. I8

This episode simply indicates^{I9} that the emperor Yūryaku met the cheiftain of the Mt.Katsuragi district on the occasion of kunimi 'viewing the land'²⁰. The 'god of one word' was the chief of the community of the yamabito themselves. As the word itself suggests, yamabito occupied the mountain districts as their territory. The adventurous story of the prince Yamato Takeru in Kojiki²¹ also mentions the yamabito of Mt.Ashigara in the east. The similar episode of God Susano-o-no-mikoto in Kojiki²² suggests a religious custom of antiquity known as the sacred marriage²³ between the yamabito who were regarded as divine creatures 'yamanokami' during the festival, and village girls. It was a long established custom among people of the ancient community that yamabito came down to the villages at certain times of the year. They visited then in the disguise of monsters covering their faces with the twigs and leaves of the mountain plants. They were regarded as divine creatures 'yamanokami' on these occasions. The maidens of the village had to be prepared to marry these yamanokami. The story in the Kojiki describes this as follows:

" The brother of the Sun Goddess, Susano-o-no-mikoto was exiled from the community after the goddess came out of The Rock Dwelling. He started wandering around the land from the south towards the western region. When he came across Izumo, he saw a pair of chopsticks floating on the river. He thought that there should be some community of human upon the river. He went on walking along the riverside towards the depth of the mountain until he met an old couple weeping at the riverbank. The couple had a young girl beside them, who was also sobbing. The god asked them what was the matter with them. The couple explained in tears that "there is a monster dragon with eight heads and eight tails in one body which is covered with trees and bushes, comes from the mountain every year to eat the young girls of the village." "We had eight daughters before but now only one is left". "And yet, this is the time that the monster will come down and snatch this last daughter away". "This is why we are crying here". The god told them not to worry, for he would kill the monster and save the girl. He ordered them to prepare plenty of sake filled in eight barrels. So they did. When the monster appeared he immediately started drinking sake and got drunk, which made the god easy to kill the monster. While he was cutting the body of dragon with his sword, it was suddenly broken into two pieces. This was how the god found sacred sword in the body of the dragon, which later preserved as one of the three national treasure of the ancient community."

The original idea of the eight daughters of the old man is considered²⁴ as an ancient custom for eight priestess to serve in religious ceremonies. The eight-tailed monster may be regarded as a yamabito who disguised himself with

mountain ivy and plants on the occasion of the festival in which a yamabito was believed to be a deity of the mountain (yamanokami). It is interesting to notice that the yamanokami in this episode became a dragon though it was said to be disguised with mountain plants like many other description of yamabito. It is described as follows:

" His eyes are like red ground cherries; his one body has eight heads and eight tails. On his body grow moss and cypress and cryptomeria trees. His length is such that he spans eight valleys and eight mountain peaks. If you look at his belly, you see that blood is oozing out all over it." 25

This custom of the sacred marriage between the yamanokami and the maiden of the village suggests²⁶ the original significance of the mountain picnic (kagai) which became a popular custom among the community in olden times up to about 800 A.D.. As civilization developed and men came to build shrines, this custom which was once practiced in the open air was brought inside the shrine and became more ritualized and elaborated. The girls who were chosen as brides for yamanokami formed the profession of miko and served the gods in the shrine when the annual festival was established and celebrated with the accompaniment of music and dance. A local chronicle of Yamato district the Genyoki²⁷ 元要記 stated that the princess Yamato, the daughter of the emperor Sūjin 崇神 (reigned 93-30 B.C.) danced for

the god of Anashi mountain at the festival of July IIth;
she danced with her hair decorated with mountain ivy, which
suggests that she danced the dance of yamabito. This
indicates the fact that imperial miko danced Yamato mai
in early times.

It may be necessary to go back to the text of
Hagoromo, which describes the tennin.

28

Thus is the Moon-God's palace
Its walls are fashioned
With an axe of jade
In white dress, black dress,
Thrice five for the waning,
In two ranks divided,
Thrice five for the waning,
Thrice five for nights of the waxing
One heavenly lady on each night of the moon
Does service and fulfils
Her ritual tasks assigned.²⁹

The suggestive point in the text is that the number
three and five make eight. Eight has been regarded as sacred
and prosperous number in Japan since early times. It was a
long established custom for miko to dance in eight. In fact
the expression 'eight girls' (yaotome 八少女) became a
synonym for kamiko. A poem in the Shūishū which was
written by the Governor of Yamato who accompanied the emperor
Teishi-in 孝子院 on a visit to the Kasuga Shrine in 920 A.
D., shows an example:

Mezurashi na kyō no Kasuga no

Yaotome o

Kami mo ureshi to omowazarame ya.

Fujiwar Tadafusa 30

Lovely these eight girls at
Kasuga today.

Even the gods will surely feel happy at the
sight of them.

Fujiwara Tadafusa

The Meigetsuki^{3I} 明月記 mentions that silk was given as a reward to the 'eight girls' who served at the festival of Hiyoshi Shrine in 1199. In 1223, the 'eight girls' served at the winter festival for three days and performed Azuma asobi.

Thus the kamiko of early times had performed Azuma asobi and Yamato mai at the religious festivals of shrines. As was mentioned in the Genyōki, the imperial miko, princess Yamato danced Yamato mai for the god of Anashi at the sixtieth reign of the emperor Sūjin who reigned 93-30 B.C.. This date is far more ancient than the date of the legend of the tennin described in Zoku Kyōkunshō. It is obvious that the miko of shrines in early time had chances to teach these dances to the local people, for example Otozuru, who was one of the miko who took part in the festival of the Onmatsuri in 1349, taught kusemai to Kanami Kiyotsugu. In this way, a miko of the eastern regions taught to the local people the Azuma asobi which later became a legend, just as a tennin taught the dance of heaven on the beach of Udo in the reign

of the emperor Ankan in the beginning of the sixth century.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

- I. Waley, The Nō plays of Japan, 222-3.
2. Takano, NKS, 152.
3. The sea coast around the river Fujikawa in modern Shizuoka Prefecture.
4. Morris, The Pillow Book, by Sei Shōnagon, 189.
5. Takano, NKS, 150.
6. Ibid. 90.
7. Honda, The Manyōshū, 146.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid. 254.
10. Takano, NKS. 92.
11. Ibid. 144.
12. Ibid. 145.
13. See Tsuchihashi, KGK, 144-5.
14. Ibid. 130.
15. Kubota, Utsubo, Kokinshū, vol.2. 743.
16. Cf. Honda, Manyōshū, 327.
17. Ibid.
18. Philippi, Kojiki, 360-I.
19. Ibid. 360. Note 2.
20. Cf. Tsuchihashi, KGK, II-90.

It was the custom for the emperor to climb up the hill to view the land in early spring during the

Nara period. It was regarded as a political and religious ceremony.

- 21. See Philippi, Kojiki, 24I.
- 22. Ibid. 88-90.
- 23. Nishitsunoi, KK, 24 & 27.
- 24. Philippi, Kojiki, 88. Note 4.
- 25. Ibid. 89.
- 26. See Nishitsunoi, KK, 24.
- 27. Tsuchihashi, KGK, 13I.
- 28. The palace in the moon was mentioned also in plays such as Tōru, Tsurukame and Aya no tsuzumi.
- 29. Waley, The Nō plays of Japan, 223.
- 30. Shūishū, qtd. in Honda, Kagura, 3I.
- 31. Honda, Kagura, 348.

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusion

On the south-western spur of Parnassus in a valley of Phōeïs, there is a very ancient seat of prophecy at Delphi. The oracle proper was a cleft in the ground in the innermost sanctuary from which arose cold vapours, which had the power of inducing ecstasy. Over the cleft stood a tall gilded tripod of wood. On this was a circular slab, upon which the seat of the prophetess Pythia was placed. She was a maiden of honorable birth. In earliest times the Pythia ascended the tripod once a year, on the birthday of Apollo, the seventh day of the Delphian spring month Bysĩōs. Having prepared herself by washing and purification, the Pythia entered the sanctuary, with gold ornaments in her hair, wearing flowing robes: she drank of the water of the fountain. The oracle was heard by Pythia who acted as a medium with an assistant.^I

The reputation of the oracle stood very high not only in Greece but in Japan in early times. The empress Jingu (201-269 A.D.) carried out the oracle ritual shōkon: 'the calling of the spirit'. She built a tabernacle where she secluded herself for seven days and seven nights to purify herself like a medium (miko). She had a third person to ask her questions when she became the incarnation of the Sun goddess during the ceremony, as well as a musician to play the harp(koto) decorated with wands laid at both ends of the

instrument. The oracle was thus heard through a three-element framework: the spirit of the divine, the medium and the assistant.

The idea of the summoning of the spirit is in fact an essential element of the ritual of the Shinto religion: the annual festival of Shinto shrines means to summon the spirits of the deities to the altar and entertain them in the form of banquet accompanied by music and dance. The significance of the festival was a thanksgiving to show one's gratitude to the guardian deity of the community and ask for the good harvest for the year. This concept of evoking the spirits was natural enough for people in early times when the community depended so much on these religious rites and ceremonies. The Nō drama which developed largely out of diverse entertainments given on the occasion of Shinto festivals was strongly influenced by this spiritualistic aspect of the liturgy. When Kanami and Zeami established the lasting form of the Nō drama in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, interestingly enough its fundamental construction was entirely based on the form of the shōkon. The plots of the spirit play, even of some non-spirit plays were fitted into a three-element framework. Like the oracle heard by the empress Jingū through the spirit, the medium and an assistant, the spirit play of Nō drama are carried out by the mae-shite as a medium, the nochi-shite as a

spirit and the waki as the interlocutor. One may ascertain that one of the reasons why the form of the spirit play took the form of shōkon is due to the spiritualistic mental environment of Japan in early times.

In fact, this cult of the summoning of the spirit was practiced in both western and eastern countries in early times. In England, however, where Christianity found its way in the sixth century, the cult was abolished: it is now known only in association with witchcraft. On the other hand, when Buddhism came into Japan in the sixth century, it took the form of co-existence with the indigenous Shinto cults, and even encouraged the cult of shōkon.

The esoteric and enigmatic ritual of Shūshō-e and Shūnigatsu-e at the main temples such as Tōdai-ji, Kōfuku-ji and Yakushi-ji was soon followed by Shūshō-ki-e or Tsuina-shiki which was a simplified interpretation of the secret Buddhist ritual which had been previously carried out by the chief priest. The significance of this demon festival somewhat resembles the miracle play and mysteries of medieval England, the purpose of which was to teach the stories of the Old Testament to the parish people.

The demon festival was also played by Buddhist monks of low rank. This task was later handed on to the professional Sarugaku players who were later known as Sarugaku Shushi.

As a matter of course, the performance of this Sarugaku

Shushi influenced Sarugaku proper which was in the process of establishing its form as a serious drama.

The art of the shihō kanjō is one of the examples which shows spiritualistic influence on the text of the spirit plays of Nō.

As in the case of the Delphic oracle in which the medium Pythia was a woman, in Japan the miko who carried out the ritual of shōkon since ancient times was female. Miko of royal birth were called saigū and sai-in; they served the Imperial shrines. The miko of noble birth were called kamiko and served at the main shrines. There were also professional miko called ichiko who did not belong to any particular shrine but made their living by fortune telling. Dancing and reciting poems were two of many accomplishments they needed to have, for they could associate with the spirit only by means of dancing in ecstasy, and they uttered oracles and recited auspicious words in metrical form.

During the long history of the miko, towards the beginning of the twelfth century there arose a new professional type of miko who did not practise shōkon but performed music and dance as courtesans and entertainers. They were called yūjo 'prostitute' and shirabyōshi. Their repertoire included the recitation of poems written both in Chinese and Japanese. Dancing was the main part of their performance; they performed simplified Bugaku court dances and kusemai

which Kanami adopted in the middle of the fourteenth century into his Sarugaku Nō through the teaching of Otozuru Gozen who was perhaps the same miko who performed at the Wakamiya Onmatsuri in 1349.² The performance of those yūjo and shirabyōshi was particularly enjoyed by the priest and warrior classes. Interestingly enough, those entertainers who developed from the miko who acted as mediums in shōkon, acted now as the mediums of the culture: the Bugaku which once belonged to the nobility in the Nara and the Heian periods was handed on to the priests and newly risen warrior society in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods by means of shirabyōshi and yūjo. The study of the angel in the play Hagoromo reveals another interesting aspect, namely that the miko in early times contributed in spreading their dances to the local people. That is to say, Yamato mai and Suruga mai, which had once belonged to the yamabito clans, were performed by miko at shrine festivals since roughly 90 B.C.. These dances were taught by miko to the local people and they enjoyed dancing at the merry-making parties up on the mountains or riversides: this was known as kagai. Yamato mai were taken into the Court as Bugaku dances since 804 A.D.; Azuma asobi were adapted in 920 A.D. by a nobleman of the court Ichijō Masanobu when he reorganized and rearranged the Bugaku which had so far consisted only of dances from the main land of Asia, Korea and, China and, India

and south east Asia.³

Thus one may notice that the miko worked twice as a medium of culture: firstly in the beginning of history they transferred the dances of yamabito to the local people throughout the country, and about the tenth century they were adapted as Bugaku, which was kept exclusively among the nobility;⁴ secondly, towards the beginning of the twelfth century, a noble and Buddhist priest, Fujiwara Shinsei, who was a noted man of culture in the late Heian period, simplified some choreography of Bugaku and taught them to yūjo and shirabyōshi who can be regarded as degenerate types of miko. Thus simplified Bugaku was spread among the nobility, particularly among the warriors and the priests of the Kamakura period.

Music and dance were essential elements in the ritual of shōkon. Ameno-Uzume-no-Mikoto danced fanatically in front of the cave to call the Sun goddess out of her hiding place; the empress Jingū had a musician to play the harp during the ceremony of the oracle. Kagura intrinsically meant songs and dances for the ritual of the shōkon. It gradually lost its principle significance by the time of the emperor Ichijō (987-988), however, leaving little trace of the spiritualistic element in it. - It was regarded as a means of animating the souls of living persons as well as

a requiem for the dead. The ennen 'prolonging life' entertainment entirely lost its spiritualistic element. It was mere entertainment for the parish people of all classes, consisting of more than twenty different songs, dances, acrobatics including crude drama which had been performed in main temples and shrines like the Kōfukuji Tōdai-ji, Yakushi-ji and Kamakura Hachiman Shrine since the twelfth century.

In studying the history of drama since early times to the medieval epoch when Kanami and Zeami established the form of Nō, one notices that there had been two potentialities in the development of drama: one was the spirit play and the other was the non-spirit play.

Towards the beginning of the twelfth century, for the first time a dramatic element was induced into Sangaku, which had previously consisted merely of amusing songs and dances, acrobatics, juggling and magic etc. The result of this was not the spirit play but buffoonery like that when the Counsellor Ietsuna and his brother played a sort of parody as an antidote to the solemnity of the kagura ceremonies. Harunomiyamaji⁵ 春能深山路 by Asukai Masaari 能島升雅有 stated that more elaborate type of comedies such as Fūryū sekisho no monzeki 凡流関新問責 and Go 碁 were performed at Court on the occasion of poetry party known as Renga no

kai (連歌会)⁶ in April 1280. Inuō Dōami 犬玉道阿彌 was skilled in writing this type of non-spirit play. Towards the middle of the fourteenth century Sarugaku became a serious dramatic performance.

Kanami and Zeami achieved and established an independent serious drama, which was called Sarugaku Nō. The comic element in the previous type of performance remained separate under the name Sarugaku Kyōgen.

One of the characteristics of Sarugaku Nō was the spirit play fitted into the three-element framework. As a matter of fact, the potentiality to develop into a spirit play existed in several types of pre-Nō drama. The seinō of the early eleventh century had the conversation part based on the oracle ritual, the idea of inquisition. Shō-fūryū and Tsurane in Ennen Nō, and plays such as Kikusui and Jisei in Dengaku Nō showed that spirit plays existed before the time of Kanami and Zeami. None of these early spirit plays, however, had been written in the form of a three-element framework. In this sense, the creative sensibility of these two dramatists should be highly appreciated.

There then arises the question of which of the two first invented this three-element framework. Unfortunately, there has not been enough evidence to find the definite answer to this question. The list of Nō plays

written by the two dramatists, though shows an interesting phenomenon. As the chart in Appendix 3 shows, Kanami wrote a number of non-spirit plays and his skill in this type of play has been highly valued. The authorship of his spirit plays is dubious: as the chart shows, most of them also have claim to Zeami's authorship. The play Makiginu 'The Rolls of Silk' was regarded as anonymous by most sources⁷ while one or two⁸ give Kanami as its author. The construction of the play was based on the ritual of the miko in which the dedication of rolls of silk to the ruler was involved. It is arranged in the following pattern;

<u>mae-shite</u>	. . . . .	<u>miko</u>
<u>nochi-shite</u>	. . . . .	the spirit of a god
<u>waki</u>	. . . . .	a court official
<u>tsure</u>	. . . . .	a man from the capital

The mae-shite, who is a miko, summons the spirit of Buddhist deities by means of norito 'auspicious words' and kagura dances. If Makiginu was really written by Kanami before Zeami had started writing his spirit plays, one may think that the three-element framework was originated by Kanami and it was directly derived from the construction of shōkon. Unfortunately there is not enough evidence to prove this hypothesis. Even if this was written by Kanami, it may be possible that Kanami followed Zeami's technique of 'three-element' framework from the fact that Zeami was already

twenty-two when Kanami died suddenly at the age of fifty-three. Unless one knows the date of each play one is not able to find the answer to this question. One may say, however, that the three-element framework was really based on the ritual of shōkon from the existence of two plays Aridōshi and Makiginu, both of which show the technique of summoning of spirit by a medium; one is a kannushi 'priest' and the other a miko 'priestess'. But again this does not mean that these are necessarily the first three-element spirit plays, because of the lack of the date of each play. The only thing that can be said with certainty is that the art of summoning the spirit was so natural and common among people of the time that it became the standard form of spirit play of Nō drama.

Zeami was the most distinguished dramatist of this time in writing spirit play in three-element framework. As the chart shows, his son Motomasa was much more interested in non-spirit plays. Zenchiku followed Zeami's technique. Nobumitsu put more emphasis on the part of waki rather than on the part of the shite, that is the spirit. Miyamasu, like Motomasa, was more interested in non-spirit plays.

The significance of the spirit plays of Nō was usually to call those spirits suffering in the underworld to the present world by means of shōkon, which was a principle of Shinto ritual, and then to help those spirits in fulfilling

the idea of salvation by means of nenbutsu. The spirits in the plays were usually heroes and heroines of historical events or classic novels such as Genji monogatari or Heike monogatari. The preference for using such characters from literary works of the past was due to the social trend of the time which prevailed among the societies of both warriors and the nobility. They shared an extreme nostalgia for the 'peace and tranquility' of the Heian period expressed in its name. The nobility, who were once the leaders of political and cultural life, yearned nostalgically for the past, while the military adored the luxury and elegance of its court life. The spirit plays of Nō were in fact the result of the desire to represent the past to the ears, eyes and mind of such audiences by means of a drama which was a complete unity of music, dance and poetry.

Historically, medieval Japan was an age of disunity and violent change; despair and anguish dominated men's minds. All over the country, violence and war took place every day, the disaster of disease spread everywhere, earthquakes, fire and famine caused fear among the people and, as a result, they became more and more superstitious and imaginative.

The medieval spirit plays of Nō sharply reflect the thoughts and opinions which prevailed in that epoch. One of the supernatural characters, the angel, for example, shows the ability to shape fantasies to the full extent.

A further study of tennin revealed an interesting connection with the miko and her dances known as Yamato mai and Azuma asobi, an old custom of poetry-party known as kagai and also the sacred marriage between yamabito and village girls.

The supernatural elements of the spirit plays of Nō drama were indeed the outcome of the long and rich tradition of mediums and the extraordinary overwhelming power to shape fantasies which has dominated men's minds of the time.

It is perhaps appropriate to close with the mighty words of Shakespeare who once described the poet and his imagination;

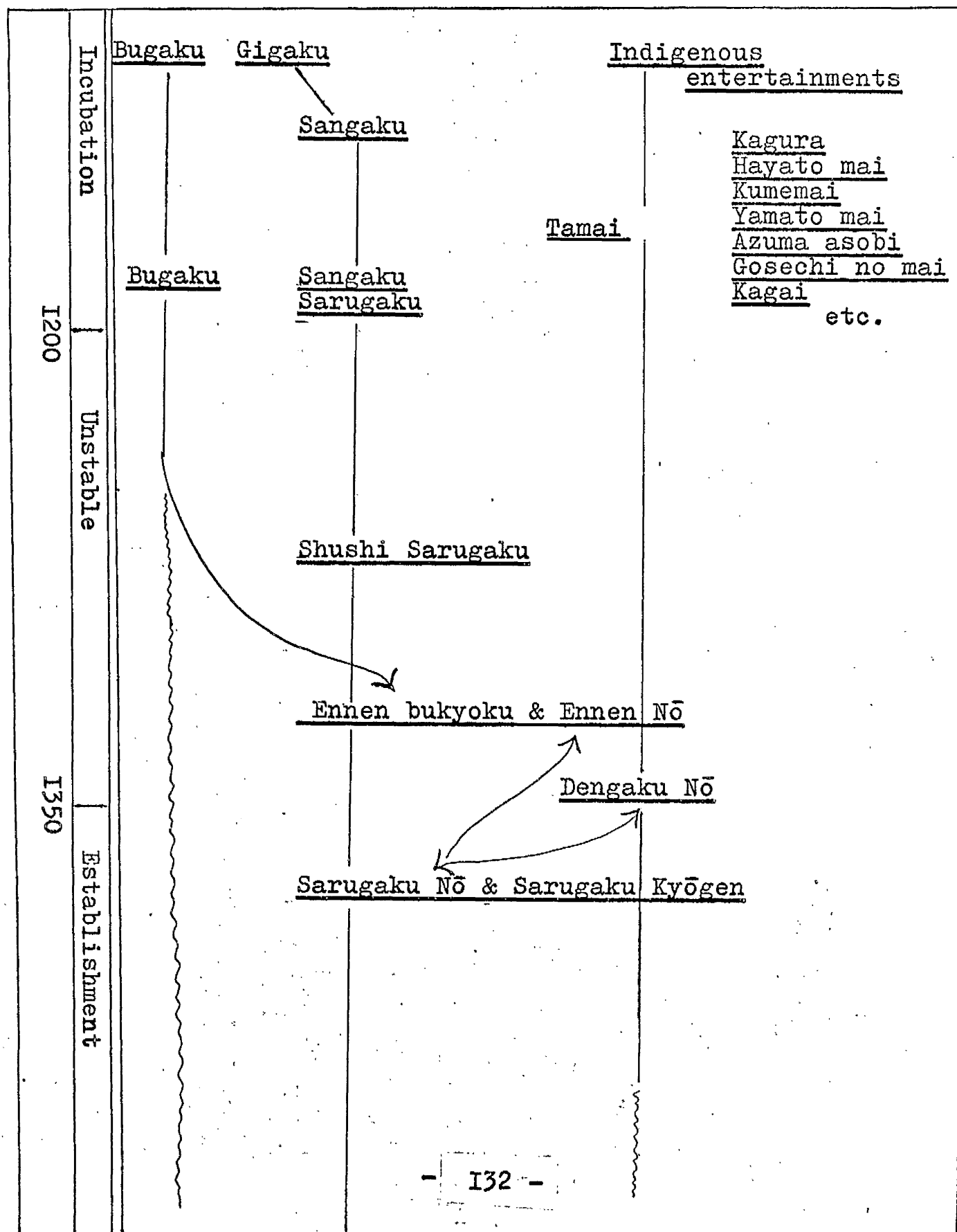
The lunatic, the lover, and the poet,
Are of imagination all compact:
One sees more devils than vast hell can hold.
That is, the madman; the lover, all as frantic,
Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt:
The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven:
And, as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.
Such tricks hath strong imagination,
~~That, if it would but apprehend some joy,~~
It comprehends some bringer of that joy;
Or in the night, imagining some fear,
How easy is a bush suppos'd a bear! 9

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. Nettleship, A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities,
175-6.
2. See p. ~~92~~ 115.
3. See O'Neill END, 3-4.
4. Kawatake, Gaisetsu Nihon engeki-shi, 61.
5. A diary written by a poet Asukai Masari^a in 1280,
which provides a great number of references to Sarugaku
among the nobility of the time. Cf. Iura, NES, 266-9 &
558-560.
6. Ibid. 266.
7. Go-on, Sarugaku-dangi, KTK, NSC, KS & IOS.
8. NUM & JD.
9. 'Midsummer Night's Dream', Act V Scene I.

APPENDIX I

Development of Nō Drama



APPENDIX 2

Contents of the Development of Nō Drama before 1350

	Contents
<u>Sangaku</u> Incubation	acrobatics, juggling with balls and knives; amusing songs and dances; Tricks with a diabolo; Walking on a type of stilts consisting of a single pole with a crosspiece on which the performer stood Tight-rope walking, Conjuring and magic.
I200 <u>Sarugaku</u> & <u>Shin -</u> <u>sarugaku</u> Unstable	Farce, buffoonery and parody of the solemn <u>Kagura</u> <u>Sarugaku</u> of the nobility (played by the nobles and the guards of <u>Konoe</u> .) The episode of Ietsuna brothers after <u>Kagura</u> ceremony. <u>Fūryū Monzenki</u> <u>Go</u> etc. <u>Sarugaku</u> of the common people (played by <u>Sangaku hōshi</u> and <u>Dengaku hōshi</u> .) The tricks of a lad from the capital; A man from the east makes his first visit to the capital; The holy man Fuku-kō searches for his stole, and The nun Myōkō seeks baby's swaddling clothes. <u>Shushi sarugaku Nō</u> Okina mai Quick and slow dances <u>Ryū-ō</u> , <u>Bishamon</u> , <u>Oni</u> <u>Dengaku Nō</u> <u>Kikusui</u> , <u>Kappo</u> , <u>Jisei</u> , <u>Onnasata no Nō</u> , <u>Kitano monogurui</u> , <u>Shakuhachi no Nō</u> , <u>Honen shonin no Nō</u> , <u>Ono no Komachi</u> , <u>Byōbu no Nō</u> , <u>Yonhiki no Oni no Nō</u> , <u>Ayai no Nō</u> , <u>Ominaeshi</u> , <u>Taketoriuta</u> , <u>Shiokumi</u> , <u>Genji no Nō</u> , <u>Naruko no taki</u> , <u>Sanekata no Nō</u> , <u>Mizukumi no Nō</u> , <u>Wakamiya no Nō</u> , * etc.
I350	* Takano, <u>Nihon kayōshi</u>

4.
APPENDIX 3

Contents of the Development of Nō Drama I350-I450

List of Nō plays by Kanami and their type.

This list is based on the list given in Nose, NGK, and Nōgaku zensho, vol.3

Content of plays is based on Yōkyoku sōsho, vol.I.II.&III.

A=spirit-play ○ non spirit-play ×

B= three-dimensional ○ non three-dimensional ×

play	A	B	
<u>Awaji</u>	○	○	NUM,Kanami; KTK, music by Kanami; JD, Zeami
<u>Eguchi</u>	○	○	KTK,music by Kanami; NUM,&KHK, Zenchiku; NSC,KS,&JD, Zeami
<u>Fushimi</u>	○	○	Early version of <u>Kinsatsu</u> KTK,Kanami & Zeami
<u>Furu</u>	○	○	KHK,Kanami & Zeami; NSC,KS,IOS,NUM, Zeami
<u>Hachi no ki</u>	×	×	NSC,KS,IOS, Zeami
<u>Jinen Koji</u>	×	×	Nose thinks that there are two pieces under this tytle, the present play was rewritten by Zeami; KTK,NUM,Kanami
<u>Kuzu no hakama</u>			No text remains
<u>Motomezuka</u>	○	○	KTK,music by Kanami; NSC,KS,IOS,& JD,Zeami
<u>Makiginu</u>	○	○	Sarugaku dangi, Go-on,KTK,NSC,KS, IOS, anonymous; NUM,JD,Kanami
<u>Shii no shōshō</u>			Early version of <u>Kayoi Komachi</u> by Zeami
<u>Shizuka</u>			No text remains
<u>Shirahige</u>	○	○	NSC,KS,& IOS, Zenchiku; JD, Zeami
<u>Shogū taishi</u>	○	○	KTK, music by Kanami
<u>Sotoba Komachi</u>	○	○	Nose thinks that the present piece was rewritten by Zeami; NSC,IOS,JD, Zeami; KTK,NUM,Kanami
<u>Sōshi arai Komachi</u>	×	×	NSC,KS,Seami

List of Nō plays by Zeami

play	A	B	
<u>Atsumori</u>	○	○	
<u>Aridōshi</u>	○	○	
<u>Akoyamatsu</u>	○	○	
<u>Ashibikiyama</u>	○	○	
<u>Izutsu</u>	○	○	
<u>Ukai</u>	○	○	
<u>Unume</u>	○	○	
<u>Unrinin</u>	○	○	
<u>Unoha</u>	○	○	
<u>Oimatsu</u>	○	○	
<u>Kashiwazaki</u>	×	○	KTk: Ennami Saemon words, Zeami music
<u>Kinuta</u>	○	○	
<u>Kiyotsune</u> *	○	○	
<u>Koi no omoni</u>	○	○	
<u>Saigyō zakura</u>	○	○	
<u>Sakuragawa</u>	○	○	
<u>Shunei</u>	×	×	KTk: Zeami music
<u>Shōki</u>	○	○	
<u>Chihiro</u>	○	○	
<u>Sobu</u>	/	/	
<u>Taisanbukun</u>	○	○	
<u>Takasago</u>	○	○	
<u>Taima</u>	○	○	
<u>Tadanori</u>	○	○	
<u>Tamura</u>	○	○	
<u>Tatsuta</u>	○	○	
<u>Tamamizu</u>	/	/	
<u>Teika</u>	○	○	
<u>Tenko</u>	○	○	
<u>Tsuchiguruma</u>	×	×	
<u>Tsunemasa</u> *	○		
<u>Tōgankoji</u>	×	×	

<u>Toboku</u>	○	○
<u>Tomoakira</u>	○	○
<u>Tomonaga</u>	○	○
<u>Tokusa</u>	○	○
<u>Naniwa</u>	○	○
<u>Nishikigi</u>	○	○
<u>Nue</u>	○	○
<u>Nomori</u>	○	○
<u>Hōjōgawa</u>	○	○
<u>Hanagatami</u>	×	×
<u>Hanjo</u>	○	○
<u>Hakozaki</u>	○	○
<u>Hashidate</u>	/	
<u>Higaki</u>		
<u>Hyakuman</u>	×	×
<u>Fujisan</u>	○	○
<u>Funahashi</u>	○	○
<u>Fushimi</u>	○	○
<u>Matsukaze</u>	○	○
<u>Matsurakagami</u>	○	○
<u>Minatsukibarae</u>	×	×
<u>Mimosuso</u>	○	○
<u>Mekurauchi</u>	/	
<u>Yōrō</u>		
<u>Yashima</u>	○	○
<u>Yamauba</u>	○	○
<u>Yumiyahata</u>	○	○
<u>Yukiyama</u>	/	
<u>Yorimasa</u>		

KTK & NUM: Kanami

NUM Kanami

NUM Hiyoshi Saami

* Neither of these plays takes the transfiguration from mae-shite to nochi-shite. Texts however show the construction of three-element framework. See Chapter VI for Kiyotsune. The shite priest in Aridōshi acts as a medium and the deity. The play Tsunemasa is similar to Kiyotsune; the musical instrument of Tsunemasa may be regarded as a substitute of mae-shite.

List of Nō plays by Motomasa (d.I432)

<u>Utaura</u>	X	X	NSC,KS,IOS, Zeami;KTK,Jūrōtayū
<u>Kōya monogurui</u>	X	X	
<u>Sumidagawa</u>	X	X	
<u>Shakkyō</u>	○	○	
<u>Matsugasaki</u>			NSC,KS,IOS & JD,ZEAMI: Go-on,KTK,NUM,Motomasa
<u>Morihisa</u>			
<u>Yoshinoyama</u>			NSC,KS,IOS,Zeami; KTK,Zeami & Jurō
<u>Yorobōshi</u>			
	X	X	NSC,KS,IOS,JD,Zeami; KTK, Zeami & Motomasa NUM,Motomasa

List of Nō plays by Komparu Zenchiku (I405-I468) who tended to follow the style of Zeami.

<u>Ugetsu</u>	○	○
<u>Kamo</u>	○	○
<u>Shirōnushi</u>	○	○
<u>Kiyoshige</u>	X	X
<u>Kohiki</u>		
<u>Shiga Tadanori</u>		
<u>Shikiji Monogurui</u>	X	X
<u>Tadanobu</u>	X	X
<u>Tanikō</u>	○	○
<u>Tamakazura</u>	○	○
<u>Chiriyama</u>		
<u>Tsuruwaka</u>		
<u>Bashō</u>	○	○
<u>Fujidaiko</u>	X	X
<u>Matsumushi</u>	○	○
<u>Mekari</u>	○	○
<u>Mekurasata</u>	X	X
<u>Yōkihi</u>	X	X

List of Nō plays by Kojirō Nobumitsu (I434-I516) who
tended to put more emphasis on the waki than the shite.

<u>Ataka</u>	×	×
<u>Atago</u>	/	/
<u>Amimochi</u>	/	/
<u>Idaten</u>	×	×
<u>Orochi</u>	○	○
<u>Koso</u>	/	/
<u>Kamei</u>	○	○
<u>Kanemitsu</u>	/	/
<u>Kifune</u>	/	/
<u>Kusedo</u>	○	○
<u>Kōtei</u>	○	○
<u>Kyōbōonna</u>	/	/
<u>Kochō</u>	○	○
<u>Koremori</u>	○	○
<u>Jōtarō</u>	/	/
<u>Tamai</u>	×	×
<u>Taishi</u>	○	○
<u>Chōryō</u>	○	○
<u>Tsuneshige</u>	/	/
<u>Haen</u>	○	○
<u>Hikami</u>	/	/
<u>Funabenkei</u>	○	○
<u>Fuji</u>	○	○
<u>Futari-miko</u>	/	/
<u>Miidera Senji</u>	/	/
<u>Murayama</u>	×	×
<u>Momijigari</u>	○	○
<u>Morinaga</u>	/	/
<u>Morokoshi</u>	/	/
<u>Yasusada</u>	/	/
<u>Yugyōyanagi</u>	○	○

<u>Yoshino Tennin</u>	○	○
<u>Rotoshiya</u>		
<u>Rashōmon</u>	○	○
<u>Ryūko</u>	○	○

List of Nō plays by Miyamasu(active between 1413-1464)who tended to put emphasis on non-spirit plays.

<u>Ikenie</u>	X	X
<u>Ishikozumi</u>		
<u>Ishigami</u>		
<u>Eboshiori</u>	X	X
<u>Urashima</u>	○	○
<u>Ennen</u>		
<u>Ōeyama or Shutendōji</u>	X	X
<u>Gobo Soga</u>		
<u>Katami okuri</u>		
<u>Yuya</u>	X	X
<u>Kuramatengu</u>	X	X
<u>Genpuku Soga</u>	X	X
<u>Genzai Kumasaka</u>	X	X
<u>Kosode Soga</u>	X	X
<u>Kobayashi</u>	X	X
<u>Sakaboko</u>	○	○
<u>Shōgiseishu</u>	X	X
<u>Settai</u>	X	X
<u>Taiboku</u>	○	○
<u>Chōfuku Soga</u>	○	○
<u>Nishikido</u>	X	X
<u>Hōkazō</u>	X	X
<u>Himuro</u>	○	○
<u>Hitsukiri Soga</u>		
<u>Fushiki Soga</u>	○	○
<u>Manjū</u>	X	X
<u>Mukoiri Jinenkoji</u>	X	X
<u>Mongaku</u>		
	- 139 -	

<u>Youchi Soga</u>	X	X
<u>Rokudai</u>	X	X

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANEZAKI SHŌJI, 'Yōkyoku ni okeru bukkyō yōso',

Nōgaku zensho, vol.I Tokyo, 1927.

ARAKI, J., The Ballad-Drama of Medieval Japan, Berkeley, 1964.

ASTON, W.G., Nihongi, London, 1898.

de BARY, THEODORE, (ed.) 'Medieval Japan',

Sources of the Japanese Tradition, Columbia, 1958.

BRIGGS, K.M., The Fairies in Tradition and Literature, London, 1967.

The Anatomy of Puck, London, 1959.

CRAIG, W.J., The Complete Works of William Shakespeare, London, 1964.

ELIADE, MIRCEA, Shamanism Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, translated by W.R. TRASK, London, 1964.

FRAZER, Sir J.G., The Golden Bough, London, 1933.

FENOLLOSA, ERNEST and POUND, EZRA, The Classic Nō Theatre of Japan, New York, 1959.

HANADA RYŌUN, Yōkyoku ni arawaretaru bukkyō, Tokyo, 1938.

HAGA & SASAKI, (ed.) Yōkyoku sōsho, Tokyo, 1914.

HISAMATSU SENICHI, Nihon karon-shi no kenkyū, Tokyo, 1953.

Kaitei shinpan Nihon bungaku-shi, vol.III Tokyo, 1967.

HONDA YASUJI, Kagura, Tokyo, 1966.

HORI ICHIRŌ, Wagakuni minkan shinkō-shi no kenkyū, Tokyo, 1953.

IKEDA YASABURŌ, Nihon geinō denshō ron, Tokyo, 1962.

IURA YOSHINOBU, Nihon engeki-shi, Tokyo, 1963.

IWAHASHI KOYATA, Nihon geino-shi, Tokyo, 1951.

KANZE SAKON, (ed.) Kanze yōkyoku zenshū, Kyoto, 1956.

KAWASE KAZUMA, (ed.) (Tōchū) Zeami nijūsambushū, Tokyo, 1945.

KAWATAKE SHIGETOSHI, Nihon engeki zenshi, Tokyo, 1959.

KAZAMAKI KEIJIRŌ, Shin kokin jidai, Tokyo, 1955.

KIKAWA EIJI, Nihon ongaku no rekishi, Tokyo, 1965.

KINDAICHI KYŌSUKE, 'Kyūkon densetsu yori Hagoromo Miwa densetsu e', Minzoku periodical 1,2 Tokyo, 1926.

KONISHI JINICHI, Nōgakuron kenkyū, Tokyo, 1961.

- LOMBARD, F.A., An outline history of Japanese drama, London, 1928.
- MINEGISHI YOSHIAKI, 'Yokyoku to waka',
Nogaku zensho, vol.III Tokyo, 1942.
- MITANI EIICHI, Nihon bungaku no minzokugaku-teki kenkyu, Tokyo, 1965.
- MIYATAKE KAKUSUI, Kasuga Wakamiya Onmatsuri to Sarugaku, Nara, 1939.
- MIZUNO YU, Nihon minzoku, Tokyo, 1963.
- MURATA TOSHIO, Shugendo no hattatsu, Tokyo, 1943.
- MURAYAMA SHUICHI, Shinbutsu shugo shicho, Tokyo, 1953.
- MURRAY, MARGARET, The Witch-Cult in Western Europe, Oxford, 1921, 1963 and 1967.
- NAGAZUMI YASUAKI, 'Zeami no geijutsuron',
Chusei bungaku no seiritsu, Tokyo, 1965.
- NAKAYAMA TARO, Nihon miko-shi, Tokyo, 1930.
Baisho sanzennenshi, Tokyo, 1923 and 1927.
Manyoshu no minzokugaku-teki kenkyu, Tokyo, 1962.
- NARUSE ICHIZO, 'Fukushiki No no kegon hontai',
Engekishi kenkyu, vol.III Tokyo, 1933.
- NISHITSUNO MASAYOSHI, (ed.) Nenchu gyoji jiten, Tokyo, 1967.
Kagura kenkyu, Tokyo, 1934.
Nihon koyō-shū, Tokyo, 1914.
- NOGAMI TOYOICHIRO, 'Yokyoku no kosei',
Nogaku zensho, vol. III Tokyo, 1942.
'Yokyoku to sakusha',
Nogaku zensho, vol. III Tokyo, 1942.
'No no yurei',
No no saisei, Tokyo, 1935.
- NOSE ASAJI, Nogaku genryuko, Tokyo, 1938.
Nogaku kenkyu, Tokyo, 1940.
'No no senko geijutsu',
Nogaku zensho, vol.I Tokyo, 1927.
- OGATA KAMEKICHI, Ocho geijutsu-shi, Tokyo, 1937.
Sangaku genryu ko, Kyoto, 1954.

O'NEILL, P.G., Early Nō Drama, London, 1958.

A guide to Nō, Tokyo, 1954 and 1964.

'The structure of Kusemai', Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, xxi/I, 1958.

'The Special Kasuga Wakamiya Festival of 1349', Monumenta Nipponica, vol. XIV Nos. 3-4 Tokyo, 1958.

ORIGUCHI SHINOBU, 'Nōgaku ni okeru waki no igi' and

'Noronji oyobi norito', Origuchi Shinobu zenshū, vol. II Tokyo, 1927.

PHILIPPI, D.L., Kojiki, Tokyo, 1968.

SANARI KENTARŌ, 'Yōkyoku no shizai', Nōgaku zensho, Tokyo 1942.

SEYFFERT, O., Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, translated Nettleship and Sandys London, 1891.

SHIDA NOBUYOSHI, Nihon kayōken-shi, Tokyo, 1958.

SOUTHERN, RICHARD, The Seven Ages of The Theatre, London, 1964.

STONE, BRIAN, 'Introduction', Medieval English Verse, London, 1964 and 1966.

TAKANO TATSUYUKI, Kaitei Nihon kayōshi, Tokyo, 1930.

TAKEUCHI YOSHITARO, Nihon gekijō zushi, Tokyo, 1935.

TANAKA MAKOTO, 'Yōkyoku to haikyoku', Nōgaku zensho, vol. III Tokyo, 1942.

TSUCHIHASHI YUTAKA, Kodai kayō to girei no kenkyū, Tokyo, 1965.

TSUGUTA JUN, Norito shinkō, Tokyo, 1929.

TSUJI ZENNOSUKE, Nihon bukyōshi, vol. I Tokyo, 1944.

Nihon bunkashi: Tokyo, 1959.

Vol. I The Nara period,

Vol. II The Heian period,

Vol. III The Kamakura period.

USUI NOBUYOSHI, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, Tokyo, 1960.

WADA & ISHIIHASHI, (translated) Gishi wajinden, Tokyo, 1953.

WAKAMEDA & KOBAYASHI, 'Preface', Early Japanese Poets, London, 1922.

WALEY, ARTHUR, The Nō Plays of Japan, London, 1921 and 1950.

WASHIO JUNKEI, (ed.) 'Dai-fūryū', 'Shō-fūryū' and 'Tsurane',
Kokubun tōhō bukkyō sōsho, Tokyo, 1928.

'Enkyoku', Kokubun tōhō bukkyō sōsho, Tokyo,
1926.

YANAGITA KUNIO, 'Miko-kō', Teihon Yanagita Kunio shū, vol.9
Tokyo, 1962.

'Yamabito-kō', vol.4.

'Josei to minkan denshō', vol.8.

'Hitokoto nushi-kō', vol.9.